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Ministry Reports 874 Deported From Greece 5 Jul

AU0507195393 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] An updated report by the Public Order Ministry spokesman states that the current deportation of Albanian refugees from Greece has been significantly reduced. Thus, 350 people were deported from the Kapshtice border point today, 460 from Kakavije, and 64 people from Sarande by ferryboat. The total number of deportees today amounts to 874 people.

Berisha Meets With Archbishop Janullatos

AU0207172893 Tirana ATA in English 0813 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 2 (ATA)—In his meeting on July 1 with the archbishop of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Albania, Janullatos, the President of the Republic Sali Berisha said: "I want to stress that it is inconvenient that the shocking events, which we are experiencing in the relations between the two countries in a troubled region such as the Balkans, have as a pretext the activity of a priest. Therefore, I think that there should be a more rigorous demand for the God's missionaries to adhere to their teachings and not engage in subversive and nonconstitutional activity, as was the case with Mr. Maidhonis, whose activity will be made public soon. I want to stress that it was precisely this activity, which also might have been penally prosecuted, that made us adopt the required measures. Until now, no explanation is required by Greek authorities at any level. However, one thing is sure: The powerful wave of revenge which broke out among the Greek circles against the Albanian emigrants only reminds you of a mythological hatred.

"In this meeting I want to stress once again that I know and highly appreciate your efforts to revive the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. I assure you that in this mission you will have the increasing support of the Albanian state as well as my own. But, on this occasion I want to refer once again to the question of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

"Admitting you as an archbishop of Albania, as we have agreed together a year ago, until a suitable Albanian clergy is found, I repeat what I have said before that no foreign citizen will be allowed in the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, as it is not permitted by the statute of this church. Foreign clergies will freely come and go, they may pray and attend religious ceremonies, but they cannot be appointed at the head of the Albanian Church. The Albanians, Greek minorities, or others born in Albania and of Albanian nationality shall be appointed to all levels of the Albanian Church.

"This request will never change. On the other hand I would like to stress that if these requirements are not observed it would be better not to turn them into an apple of discord between the two peoples. In regard to your attitude in Albania, you should consider the specifications of Albania and the Albanians. In this case, they would like to see you praying together with all the other believers, because Albania itself is an assisi [as received].

"I agree with you about what you said on the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church," Archbishop Janullatos said. "I would like to have been told about the case with the Priest Maidhonis because I could have intervened in such a case as the church does not involve in actions beyond its activity. I feel extremely bad about the sufferings of the victims of this incident. As archbishop I will strive to establish and strengthen the Albanian Church." In regard to assisi, His Holiness Janullatos said that he was for dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church but also he had to observe the canon law of his church.

The meeting was frank and was pervaded by understanding.

Foreign Ministry Defends Berisha Remarks

AU0507084493 Tirana ATA in English 0813 GMT 5 Jul 93

["Explanation of the Spokesman of the Albanian Foreign Ministry"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 5 (ATA)—The Greek press and official spokesmen of the Greek Government attacked on July 4 [as received] the president of the Republic of Albania, Sali Berisha, for his statement that allegedly he will not allow the appointment of non-Albanian priests in the hierarchy of the Albanian Autocephalic Orthodox Church .

This is not true. President Berisha stressed in his statement, as well as in his talks with His Holiness, Janullatos, that priests who are Albanian nationals and of Albanian nationality, as well as Albanian nationals from the minority will be appointed in the hierarchy of the Albanian Autocephalic Orthodox Church.

The transformation of this statement, made in public, is in the interest of those political circles and forces who want to maintain the tension and ruin the relations between Albania and Greece. We should underline that in his statements, President Berisha has declared that priests that are foreign nationals will not be appointed in the Albanian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. But foreign priests are free to come to Albania, without any obstacle and to carry out religious services according to rules. They are prohibited to carry out in Albanian churches and among believers activities which have not to do with religion.

The provisional exarch, His Holiness, Janullatos, has fully agreed with this opinion.

The church in Albania is autocephalic, it is separated from the state. Any act that runs counter to this is an

interference in our home affairs. Albania will entitle no one the right and will not allow anybody to make such interferences.

Berisha Views Relations With Greek Minority

AU0307203093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 3 Jul 93

[Zamira Koleci report: "President Sali Berisha Differentiates the Conjectural Policy of the Greek Political Circles From the History of the Long-Century Peaceful Coexistence—From the Meeting Held With Leading Officials in Sarande"]

[Text] [Koleci] During his stay in Sarande, President of the Republic Sali Berisha held a working meeting with local government leaders, representatives of political parties, and public order and justice officials. The talk first focused on the tense situation on the southern border and how to avoid the negative consequences. Berisha stressed that it is important that the latest developments do not have any repercussions on the relations between Albanians and the minority community people for two reasons:

[Begin Berisha recording] First, what is happening has absolutely nothing in common with the virtues and characteristics of the Greek people because if concerning such an event, the present Greek Government chose to retaliate, the Greek people would not choose such a thing. This is not [word indistinct] by the Greek people. This has nothing in common and is a short-sighted policy.

Second, relations between Albanians and the minority community people are very old and have been established now for centuries. These relations are friendly and in full harmony; thus, they cannot be conjectural relations. Absolutely not. The relations between the Albanians and minority community people are those of a long and century-old coexistence that will increasingly become strengthened and reinforced. [end recording]

Speaking further about the concern over Albanian and minority community relations, Berisha expressed his determination not to change the Albanian state's stance toward them. He said that we follow a policy of affinity and the preservation of cultural and ethnic identity of the minority community. It is in our dignity to remain loyal to the principles that we have proclaimed so that everything is positively influenced in the coexistence of the two nationalities in Albania. They are relations of a hundred-years coexistence, which will become increasingly strengthened. In this respect, it is totally inconceivable for us to create nonexistent problems and a climate of repercussion.

Berisha assured those present that the opening of high schools in the Greek language is a matter of time and that there is a complete will on the part of Albanian political circles because we want culture and we want to educate the minority community children, since Albania will need them in the future.

Speaking about the climate that is created and the tension in the present relations between Greece and Albania, Mr. Berisha expressed the opinion that Albania will do its best to establish relations of good understanding and friendship between the two countries because, as he explained, good understanding and cooperation are vital interests for all Balkan peoples. He considered the latest developments to be wrong and not justified by arguments. He said that we have thought, and despite the difficulties, we still think that the fruitful cooperation and good understanding between Albanians and Greeks and other neighboring countries have a primary importance to peace and bilateral and regional stability. If the Balkan people hold a referendum, they will vote for good understanding and cooperation, and against intolerance.

To reject a series of undeniable achievements in Albanian-Greek relations just because a Greek citizen, who was here as a visitor and without any official post in the Albanian Autocephalous Church, distributed materials in which the south of Albania was presented as part of Greece and predicted religious segregation was expelled for anticonstitutional actions against Albania, this shows that one does not only consider the interests of good understanding but also the interests of the Greek people themselves.

Berisha considered the ideas that confrontation and aggravation serve to preserve and strengthen identity as wrong. Further expanding on this idea, he assessed the cultures of both peoples who have stayed in front of and opposite each other and have given excellent evidence of resistance. If there are people that must not have complexes in this direction, these will be Albanians and Greeks.

[Begin Berisha recording] Their whole history has shown that cooperation may be fruitful and assimilation does not constitute any danger. I am convinced that this created situation will be overcome because the interests of cooperation are greater than the short-sighted interests based on short alliances created for certain aims by Greek circles. I can say that everyone has the right to chose their own alliances. He has no right, however, that, on the basis of these alliances, break up friendships or attitudes with other neighbors. [end recording]

Berisha continued by saying that by being virtuous and moral, the Albanian people are not ignoring the outstanding help that the Greek people and their government have given to them until recently. They are and will always be grateful for this. However, recent events show that certain Greek circles have adopted as their own the psychology of Sebastianos who, I am convinced, represents neither Greece nor the soul of the Greek people.

After expressing his conviction that Sarande leaders will not allow the existence of repercussions in this situation, Berisha stressed the policy of affirming and preserving

the cultural and ethnic identity of every minority community people, because it is to our honor and dignity to adopt principles and standards of a broad democracy that will positively influence the coexistence between Albanians and the Greek minority people. Albania does not and will not do this by being imposed upon from abroad. This is an obligation deriving from the principles and universal values that Albania has established and is consolidating in the foundations of its democratic country and from the tradition and the long-century coexistence that exists between Albanians and the minority people.

Lastly, considering Albanian-Greek relations as very important not only for both our peoples but also for peace and stability in the Balkans, Berisha said that the Albanian Government will persistently continue to ask through dialogue with the Greek side to establish a spirit of cooperation and understanding in the relations between both countries.

Government Urges Normalization With Greece

AU0507212593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Note by the Government of the Republic of Albania issued in Tirana on 4 July]

[Text] Recently, relations between Albania and Greece suffered an immediate change and tension after the local public order authorities in Gjirokaster district expelled the Greek citizen Khrisostomos Maidhonis, who was in Albania as a visiting priest and was not supplied with the necessary documents. For a long time, this Greek priest distributed leaflets, brochures, and maps in which the south of Albania was depicted as a part of Greece and predicted the religious division, attacking the pope of Vatican and the Islamic religion.

The Greek general consul in Gjirokaster was officially informed about the expulsion of this Greek citizen. However, instead of asking for the necessary information on the illegal anti-Albanian activity of this visiting priest and dissociating itself from this activity, in an act of revenge, the Greek Government undertook immediately a series of steps that instantly increased tension between both countries:

1. It annulled the anticipated visits of the minister of economy, foreign minister, and defense minister of Greece in Albania.

2. It started the police operation "Broom Sweep" with the immediate, massive, and without-warning expulsion of Albanian emigrants employed in Greece, the employment of whom was expected to be legalized in bilateral intergovernmental meetings. Within a week, 20,981 Albanian emigrants were expelled. Of them, 3,401 carried up-to-date papers and regular visas. The operation "Broom Sweep" is characterized by the exertion of physical violence. There were 483 wounded, of whom four are in a serious condition; massive imprisonments; the personal savings of the emigrants were plundered; documents were ripped up; and other harassments.

3. This vengeful and inhuman operation aims at destabilizing the economic and political situation in Albania, evident in the Greek authorities' statement to the Albanian emigrants to go to Tirana and overthrow the government if they want to come back to Greece again.

The Greek mass media encouraged a fierce, unprincipled, and insulting campaign. Such slogans as—Albanians are Criminals, Break up Albanians, Vorio Epirus is Greece, Let Us March Toward Albania—were not absent.

4. It intervened with other governments of international institutions, presenting inexact and often distorted data regarding Albania's policy and the plight of the Greek minority in Albania.

5. Open attempts were made to provoke the aggravation of relations between believers of various religions, good relations between Albanians and the Greek minority community in the south of Albania, as well as to turn minorities into targets of conflict.

Proceeding from the very serious danger of such a policy, the Albanian Government declares that:

The Albanian Government has always remained and will rigorously remain loyal to the principle of preserving and defending the sovereignty of Albania and will accept no attempt to hellenize the south of Albania.

It has remained and will remain loyal to the principle of respecting and non-violently changing borders in the region and the policy of cooperation and understanding with its neighbors. It is adopting the highest standard of individual freedoms and rights for members of the Greek minority in Albania. In this regard, it is ready to cooperate with all bodies and international institutions specializing in these problems. However, it will oppose all attempts to turn into a center of tension this minority, who have always lived in harmony with the Albanian people.

It has respected and will respect the freedom of religion and all other rights of the individual. However, it will not allow the hellenization of the Albanian Orthodox Autocephalous Church and will respect the statute of this church, according to which its leaders should be Albanian citizens or belonging to the Greek minority born in Albania and having Albanian nationality.

The present archbishop, His Holiness Anastas Janullatos, was approved to hold this post for a temporary period in the framework of his contribution to reorganizing this church. The Albanian Government will allow neither the use of the church for political antinational reasons nor the encouragement of religious intolerance in our country, which has traditionally been characterized by harmony between various religions. It guarantees

the Orthodox clerics and missionaries of various religions from other countries the right to freely practice their belief in the religious institutions of Albania.

The Government of Albania thinks that the provocation of increasing tension in the southern areas of Albania is very dangerous and leads to the destabilization of the situation in the entire region, thus serving the interests of the forces interested in creating such a situation in the Balkans.

We express our conviction that a role is played here by the feeling of the historic alliance between Greece and Serbia and the pursuit of a theocratic and pan-Balkan policy by Greek political and clerical circles.

By committing itself to make all the necessary efforts on its part to favor the reestablishment of normal relations with Greece and create the necessary conditions to reach cooperation and understanding, the Government of Albania invites the Greek Government:

—To immediately stop the operation of harassments and expulsions of Albanian emigrants from Greece.

—To remove the Greek military reinforcements from the border with Albania. —To dissociate itself from the chauvinist circles and organizations that aim at annexing the south of Albania.

—To recognize and officially accept all obligations that derive from the protocol of Firence, which defines the border between both countries.

—To stop radio broadcasts from its territory that aim at inciting actions to the detriment of the territorial integrity of Albania.

Considering that the increase of tension between both countries is extremely dangerous not only for Albania but also beyond, the Albanian Government invites all the governments and the United Nations, the CSCE, EC, Council of Europe, the European Parliament, NATO, and [words indistinct] to influence in interrupting all actions that keep the tension between both countries heightened; to mediate with international institutions to ask Greece to respect the international laws and acts on human freedoms and rights that it has signed; to increase efforts so as not to allow the spread of destabilization of the situation in the south of Balkans; to support the still fragile democracy in Albania; and help in carrying out the reforms undertaken by the Albanian Government so as to eliminate the consequences of dictatorship and overcome economic difficulties.

The Albanian Government expresses the conviction that this will help in quickly overcoming the tension in relations between both states and in reestablishing the spirit of peace and cooperation between them.

Ministry Denies Reporters Barred From South

AU0307141593 Tirana ATA in English 1024 GMT 3 Jul 93

[ATA report: "The Albanian Government Has Not Prevented Foreign Reporters From Visiting the South of Albania"]

[Excerpts] Tirana, July 3 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Albania refuted the news disseminated by some foreign agencies. According to them, the Albanian Government has not allowed foreign reporters to visit the south of Albania. At a press conference with the reporters, he said that this news is false. The Albanian Government has longsince opened the doors to all the representatives of mass media, who are free to do their job throughout Albania. [passage omitted]

Mr. Murati reported that diplomacy is involved in normalizing the relations with the Greek Government.

Ministry Spokesman Responds to Greek Charges

AU0607162893 Tirana ATA in English 0836 GMT 6 Jul 93

["Announcement of the Spokesman of the Foreign Ministry"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 6 (ATA)—On July 3, 1993, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of Greece made a statement before the reporters in Athens regarding a temporary interruption in the printing of school books for the Greek minority in the Printing Press of Gjirokaster. In response to this statement, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of Albania, after clarifying this question with the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Albania, reports:

The interruption was made for one day only, because of the need to print local newspapers according to the respective contracts. This does not, in the least, hinder the school texts to come off the press before the new school year begins.

Until now, the Albanian authorities, not only have not hindered schooling of the minority pupils in Albania, but, on the contrary, have constantly helped it.

Such hasty statements on minor technical problems does not serve the improvement of the relations between the two countries.

Political Parties Denounce Expulsions

AU0207125893 Tirana ATA in English 1016 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 2 (ATA) - The Democratic Party of Albania powerfully denounces the shameful acts of the maltreatment, beating, torturing, violent plundering and massive expulsion of the Albanian emigrants in Greece. Unfortunately, these barbarous acts are committed by a

country which has recognized and signed the European Charter of the Human Rights and other agreements of this sort.

The recent acts are not spontaneous, but made in the course of expulsions ordered time and again for the Albanian emigrants, the fuss of Greek extreme chauvinistic circles, of pressures and ultimatums, systematic interferences in the home affairs of Albania. The Democratic Party of Albania will not make and allow any compromise for any action or stand that infringes the independence and integrity of Albania. It unreservedly supports the stand of President Berisha and the statement of the Albanian Foreign Ministry. Albania is setting a good example regarding the observation of the rights of minorities and this is clear to all individuals or political circles who want to be realistic. Albania respects by laws and in practice the rights and freedoms of the minority and naturally it demands partnership in the observation of the rights of its economic emigrants.

The Social Democratic Party of Albania voices its profound indignation for the savage antiAlbanian campaign recently launched by the Greek chauvinistic circles. It values this campaign as part of the antiAlbanian policy of the Balkan nationalistic and chauvinistic forces. The Social Democratic Party states that this situation is not simultaneous, but an effort to aggravate the Balkan crisis and its extension in the south.

The party "Aleanca demokratike" of Albania also voices its great concern over the immediate aggravation of relations between Albania and Greece. This party opposes the counter reply of the Greek Government for the massive and violent expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Albanian emigrants, who were employed in Greece. "Aleanca demokratike" considers this act as lack of gratitude for the work and sweat of Albanian boys in the Greek soil. "Aleanca demokratike" thinks that in these moments the role of the Greek minority in Albania becomes more important in halting the escalation of the tension and rendering a positive service to co existence in the region.

The Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania, the Confederation of the Trade Unions of Albania, the League of Reporters of Albania, Albanian intellectuals and writers, the Historians' League, the former political persecuted, "Cameria" Patriotic political association and others have expressed their indignation towards the violent acts of the Greek authorities.

Romanian Foreign Minister Meets With Serreqi

AU0607112393 Tirana ATA in English 1046 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 6 (ATA)—Theodor Viorel Melescanu, minister of state, minister of foreign affairs, arrived on a visit to Albania on July 5. Present to receive him at Rinas Airport were the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Serreqi and others.

During this visit the delegation of the Foreign Ministry of Romania will conduct formal talks with senior authorities of the country and discuss problems of bilateral relations and the situation in the Balkans. In the context of the relations between the two countries they will discuss a treaty of good neighbourliness and cooperation between Albania and Romania and will sign an agreement for cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the two countries and two agreements in the field of transportation.

Official negotiations began between the delegation of the foreign ministry of Albania, led by Alfred Serreqi and the delegation of the Foreign Ministry of Romania, led by Theodor Melescanu.

Minister Serreqi greeted the visit of the Romanian counterpart. He said that this is the visit by the foreign minister of a friendly country and of a great political personality and friend of Albania. Dealing with the relations between the two countries, he said that our friendship stood the test of time. In this regard he referred to the period of the declaration of the national independence of Albania, at the time when there was an Albanian community in the Romanian capital.

The Albanian minister considered this a friendly visit and very significant at the hard moments the Balkans is undergoing. He said that this visit contributes to the establishment of contacts between the two countries of our region. Albania and Romania have in common the Communist dictatorship they overthrew and the period of transition they are passing, he said. We are neighbouring countries with former Yugoslavia, therefore we value that your visit is important not only for our two countries but broader.

"We consider Albania as the closest country in all aspects," Mr. Malescanu said. "Our relations has always been cordial. We are sure that under these conditions of new developments in Romania and Albania, our relations will assume new proportions".

The talks, which later were made not in the presence of the reporters, will continue today.

Albania and Romania, Mr. Arbnori said at the beginning of the meeting, have lived under the Communist dictatorship and now they have commom problems, that of transition on to the market economy and construction of the legal state. Therefore we would like that relations between the two countries be further promoted. We want that to have relations with all Balkan states, as neighbours, but consolidation of relations with one state should not inflict relations with other states of the region.

Mr. Arbnori concentrated mainly in the tense situation in the region. "Albania," he said, "wants peace. We hold that the principles of Helsinki should be observed, that borders should not be changed. Albania is the only country in the world where half of the population lives separated from the basic trunk. Without changing the

borders, we are committed to defend and respect the rights of the Albanian people in Kosova. We have declared and asked that Kosova be neutral, that UN forces be sent there in order to prevent the conflict".

Further on, Mr. Arbnori spoke of the role of parliaments in the consolidation of the friendship between the two countries.

The foreign minister of Romania, Mr. Theodor Melescanu conveyed to Mr. Arbnori the greetings of the speakers of the two houses of the Romanian Parliament and voiced the desire for the consolidation of relations between these structures, taking into consideration the similarity of the problems they have to solve. He agreed with the worry of Mr. Arbnori over the situation in the region, stressing that everything should be made to prevent a possible conflict in Kosova. "We should make known this worry to all international organizations", he said. "This is a contribution to peace and stability in the region."

Discusses Relations With Meksi

AU0607163093 Tirana ATA in English 1227 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, 6 July (ATA)—"Albania has always been interested in better relations with Romania and it is high time to raise them to a higher political and economic level because in these two aspects we have things in which both parties are interested," Premier Aleksander Meksi said in the meeting with the minister of state, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, Teodor Melescanu.

On his part, the Romanian foreign minister spoke of the further development of economic relations and elevation of their level, because these relations, which have traditionally been good even in difficult times, have been reduced recently to a symbolic level. Both parties mentioned the fields of mutual economic fields, such as those of oil, transport, tourism, mining resources, etc. Both countries have great difficulties in similar fields, such as that of financial sources. They stressed that joint efforts should be made in this direction such as the creation of banks, joint ventures with state and private capital of the two countries. Regarding this, a joint Albanian-Romanian commission will be set up.

Meets With Berisha

AU0607181993 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] On the second day of his stay in Tirana, Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Viorel Melescanu held a meeting with President of the Republic Sali Berisha. He conveyed to the Albanian president the greetings from President of the Republic of Romania Ion Iliescu and his desire to organize a meeting between the presidents of both countries, during which the treaty of friendship and cooperation that was presented during this visit would be signed.

The Romanian minister assessed Mr. Berisha's personal efforts for the development of democracy in Albania.

On his part, President Berisha thanked him for the visit and President Iliescu's greeting and expressed his readiness to meet him in Tirana or Bucharest.

Speaking of Albania's foreign policy, Berisha stressed Albania's commitment to respect the CSCE documents. He spoke about the Albanian plan to solve the question of Kosovo, which foresees the placement of this province under UN control and, with this solution, the conditioning of the embargo against Serbia.

Minister Melescanu said that the Romanian political class knows this plan quite well and expressed Romania's readiness to cooperate with Albania in solving the problem.

Regarding the recent tension in Albanian-Greek relations, President Berisha said that Albania is interested in maintaining good relations with Greece, but of course without infringing upon the country's sovereignty. It is not understandable that this [words indistinct] of the Greek extremists in the structure of the Albanian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. Concerning this, [words indistinct], which has traditionally held very good relations with the Albanian church and has not asked to impose the appointment of Romanian priests, despite the presence of Orthodox Romanies in Albania. Our country is open to missionaries of all religions, but they cannot become masters in our country.

Berisha said that every side should make efforts to improve relations as, among others, avoiding tension is an important contribution in ensuring the stability of the region, for which we are all interested.

Alongside cooperation, Berisha stressed that the best way to achieve understanding in the region is to realize a multinational cooperation without aiming at separate targets.

Holds News Conference With Serreqi

AU0707070593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Arben Karapici report]

[Text] [Announcer] Romanian State and Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu ended his two-day working visit in Albania with a news conference held at the Foreign Ministry at noon [1000 GMT] today. He left our country today. Let us listen to our reporter Arben Karapici about what was said at the news conference:

[Karapici] At the news conference, the foreign ministers of Albania and Romania both expressed themselves with superlatives about the present and the future relations between both countries. This is natural, as they see the reasons closely related to the grave political situation in the Balkan region. The situation is such that it dictates more than ever for (?turns) in alliances and bilateral

relations. From this viewpoint, we can explain the similarity of opinions of both foreign ministers on the importance and special values of this visit which, as our foreign minister Serreqi said, surpasses bilateral limits.

Addressing the reporters, Albanian Foreign Minister Serreqi said that Albania and Romania are exposed and affected by the crisis in the former Yugoslavia to the same extent. Here lies the importance of strengthening the relations of cooperation. Both foreign ministers considered it necessary to strengthen these relations. Serreqi and Melescanu said that they see [words indistinct] the political [word indistinct] of the contacts they had.

An Albanian-Romanian treaty of good friendship and cooperation was signed in Tirana today. Regarding this document, our ministers said that this is an implementation of the reciprocal commitments to strengthen the traditional and friendly relations that, both for Mr. Melescanu and his host Serreqi, serve stability in the Balkans.

Meanwhile, the Romanian foreign minister expressed support for the necessity and the real possibilies both countries have to raise contacts to the highest governmental and state levels.

Answering reporters' questions, the number one of Romanian diplomacy, before reporters, regarded the role of the Albanian community in Romania, which, he said, is active and influences positively the relations with Albania.

Mr. Melescanu also gave the hope that the Albanian community in Romania may have its representatives in the country's parliament. [words indistinct] for the Romanian foreign minister are a sound and steady basis in the traditional and friendly relations between both countries.

Meanwhile, the chief of the Albanian diplomacy Alfred Serreqi did not consider the crisis in Albanian-Greek relations as the object of this news conference. Anyway, concerning the present crisis between the two oldest Balkan neighbors, he asserted that this crisis has values for the whole region. The Albanian foreign minister added that he hopes to (?give) a solution to the good will of the crisis in the [word indistinct], on the condition of stopping the anti-Albanian propaganda. According to Mr. Serreqi, the Albanian Government is awaiting what he called clear signals from Athens to show that it is not the church that determines the relations between the two countries.

Berisha Addresses Seminar on Parliamentary Procedures

AU0607112593 Tirana ATA in English 1016 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 6 (ATA)—A seminar on the parliamentary procedures, under the auspices of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, held its proceedings in Tirana on July 5. Deputies of the People's Assembly, parliamentarians from several countries of the world and others took part.

The seminar was declared open by the speaker of the parliament, Pjeter Arbnori. The developments in the east, he said, among other things, gave way to changes, but on the other side urged the need of putting the society on legal bases. This seminar will help the Albanian Parliament in organizing its performance.

Later, the floor was taken by the president of the Republic, Sali Berisha, who greeted the participants in the seminar. He expressed his respect for the mission of the deputy and the Parliament's performance for the normal functioning of all the institutions and the state in Albania. He said that the power of the Parliament is fundamental and this is an historic definition for Albania. Then, he dwelt on the very difficult conditions the Albanian Parliament has been faced with this year. "I maintain that this seminar will greatly contribute to the improvement of the parliamentary ongoing practice and relations. I hope that this seminar will help the parliamentary group find understanding," he said. President Berisha expressed his conviction that this seminar will deal with the parliamentary relations and practices, create possibilities for discussion and dialogue, so that next week the Albanian Parliament resumes normal work and activity. "Cooperation is and will remain the main pillar of the parliamentary activity," President Berisha said.

Then the floor was taken by the deputy speaker of the Parliament, Tomor Malasi. He assessed the situation of the Albanian Parliament. Different deputies aired their opinions on technical problems. The seminar will continue for three days. It will discuss different problems with foreign specialists.

Minister Hoxha Views Economic Agreements

AU0607162493 Tirana ATA in English 1236 GMT 6 Jul 93

["Interview of the Minister of Economic Trade and Cooperation With ATA"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 6 (ATA)—"The present and coming main partner of Albania is the European Community. In mid 1992, the agreement on trade and economic cooperation was signed in Brussels between Albania and the European Community. According to it, the parties accord each other the status of the most favoured country in the customs tariffs and procedures, methods, and the transfer of payments, etc.," the Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Artan Hoxha declared to ATA. "We are in the stage of preparations to sign an agreement on textile products, which is a very important step in the extension of trade relations with EC. This one and the agreement on trade and economic cooperation is a typical agreement that EC has signed

with East European countries, including the Baltic countries. In the case of Albania, bearing in mind its specific peculiarities and not small potential in the field of textile products, the Commission of the European Community decided that in the agreement on textile, which will enter into force in 1994, Albania be treated as an exception, lifting all quantitative limits and customs tariffs on all textile products included in the agreement."

EC has also accorded Albania a generalized system of preferences for all kinds of products, with the exception of those included in the agreement for coal and steel, for which a special agreement is needed.

"Another important multilateral organization for trade is EFTA [European Free Trade Association], Mr. Hoxha said further on. The actual relations of Albania with EFTA are at the initial stage. They are based on the joint statement EFTA-Albania signed in December 1992. This statement aims at consolidation of relations and development of cooperation mainly in the field of trade."

The aim of the first meeting of the Joint Committee EFTA-Albania held in Tirana on March 23 was to define the level of economic and legislative transformation in Albania.

In the actual aspect, potential possibilities for the increase of trade exchanges with the countries of EFTA exist, bearing in mind that its special states, such as Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Finland, and soon Norway have accorded to Albania the GSP [General System of Preference].

Drawing the balance sheet of the Albanian trade, Minister Hoxha mentioned the trade agreement signed in May last year in Washington between the Republic of Albania and the U.S.A.

"Actually," he says, "we are in the stage of talks to get the GSP from the U.S.A. and we think this system will soon be approved."

In the meantime, a trade agreement signed with the People's Republic of China has entered into force. Through it, the parties give each the status of the most favoured nation regarding the customs taxes and other taxes of export-import. Trade agreements of such type have also been signed with Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia (now with the division of Czech Republic from Slovakia separate agreements are expected to be signed), and soon such an agreement will be signed with the Arab Republic of Egypt.

Commission Adopts First Chapter of Draft Constitution

AU0307165693 Tirana ATA in English 1026 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 2 (ATA)—The commission for the compilation of the draft of the constitution of the Republic of Albania convened on July 1. It discussed the constitutional variants presented for the first chapter of the draft of the constitution.

At the end of the meeting, the commission adopted the first chapter of the draft. The coming meeting of the commission will be organized on July 5. It will discuss the second chapter of the draft of the constitution entitled "The Human Rights and Freedoms."

Berov Thanks Citizens for Defending Democracy

AU0407140493 Sofia Bulgarska Televiziya Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 3 Jul 93

[Statement by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov in Sofia on 3 July—recorded]

[Text] Dear Citizens of Sofia: The purpose of this statement is to thank you for several things, from which I believe that Bulgaria has gained.

In my appeal on television on 24 June, I invited the people occupying the noisy tent camp in front of the Presidency to make an honorable retreat; I do not want to say capitulation. I asked them to refrain from giving vent to their emotions and, within 10 days, to either quietly disperse to their homes or move the camp to a reasonable distance away from its existing location, because by their behavior they could not achieve anything in the direction of (?obtaining their demands).

I am glad that subsequently, during the last few days, certain leaders of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] National Coordinating Council and the mayor of Sofia nevertheless found the strength to join my appeal. They realized the senselessness of the position that they themselves had adopted. Finally, yesterday the tent camp was completely removed. Nonetheless, I thank the occupiers of the camp for the good sense that they showed before the deadline expired.

Second, I thank Mr. Edvin Sugarev for accepting the proposal made by me and other politicians to resume a normal diet and, thus, avoid being further involved in extremely naive political machinations. As a National Assembly deputy, he had and still has plenty of other ways to express his views. I understand very well why certain political leaders so passionately want early parliamentary elections and, if required, I will explain even more clearly.

I also express my thanks for the fact that the not especially numerous misled supporters of the extreme leaders of the SDS National Coordinating Council and parliamentary group nevertheless gradually realized the inappositeness of the slogans, and by their rapidly falling attendance made the series of rallies, vigils, and marches organized by the SDS National Coordinating Council thinner and less enthusiastic. In this way, they made their contribution to strengthening democracy in Bulgaria and gradually creating conditions for a normal political life in the country.

I also thank the thousands of supporters of the parliamentary and extraparliamentary political forces that decided to hold a mass rally the following Tuesday [29 June] in support of the lawful institutions. In the end, they also took heed of my appeal to refrain from holding this rally so as to prevent the affrays and riots planned by certain circles.

I also express my thanks to our alert police, who with great discipline and calm managed to preserve public order and social peace during the last few days, which were rather tense and boisterous at times.

Thus, the desperate attempt to apply pressure, organized by a handful of leaders and activists of the SDS National Coordinating Council, ended in failure; an attempt aiming by all possible means, especially by street actions, to destabilize the Bulgarian state, overthrow the president and government, and force the dissolution of the existing parliament. This did not happen, and it will not happen. I believe that, through common efforts, democracy in Bulgaria has successfully passed a test of maturity, preserving the country's dignity. All the sensible Bulgarian citizens contributed to this who during the past months did not yield to false political passions but continued to work calmly in their offices and factories, creating the prerequisites for a gradual turnaround in the country's so far negative economic development.

Thank you for everything.

SDS Spokesman Criticizes Berov

AU0407204193 Sofia Bulgarska Televiziya Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Jul 93

[Statement by an unidentified speaker of the Union of Democratic Forces in Sofia—live]

[Text] Good evening ladies and gentlemen: Mr. Lyuben Berov, who is expected to be prime minister for a very short time, only last night tried to spoil the Bulgarian people's pleasant Saturday [3 July] evening.

He naturally failed, like in all his other initiatives.

It would be to Mr. Berov's advantage to realize that whenever he imposes his presence on the television screens of Bulgarian people's homes, he does so against the will of the nation's majority.

According to the latest public opinion polls, the disapproval for his government is twice as great as the approval.

It would also be a good thing for Mr. Berov, who is appearing on television only thanks to his current official position, to understand that abusing the Bulgarian people's patience, especially on weekends, is already too much after his government has deceived all their hopes for a better life.

The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] detects in last night's statement of the former presidential civil servant an attempt of posing as a politician. However, Mr. Berov is contradicting himself because on other occasions, he was trying to convince us that he is an independent specialist.

The SDS appreciates his independence in so far as nothing depends upon him. Therefore we recommend him to stay home on Saturday evenings.

There is even more: As long as former presidential civil servants and former communists within the Bulgarian

Socialist Party [BSP] and outside it, and as long as all former people, generally speaking, are talking about our failure, it means that the Democratic forces in Bulgaria are on the right path.

We wish you a peaceful Sunday evening and a pleasant week, ladies and gentlemen.

Zhelev Sends Appeal to Japan for Economic Aid

AU0607135593 Sofia BTA in English 1213 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev sent a letter to Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa on the eve of the G-7 summit meeting. In it, Mr. Zhelev greets Japan as its host and organizer, stressing that the forum could influence considerably the integration process into the world economy of the states which are now democratizing their political and economic development.

"As it is with the other central and Eastern European countries, during the period of transition and economic reforms the Republic of Bulgaria also needs the support of the most advanced and civilized states. In the consistent implementation of the transition, the Republic of Bulgaria not only experiences all the difficulties accompanying it but, as a result of the consequences of the Gulf crisis and, lately, of the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the peace-restoring measures linked with it, has been and is being inflicted considerable economic losses," the Bulgarian president writes. "Against the background of the country's heavy foreign debt and its still limited access to the industrialized countries' markets, the amount of those losses which we are consciously suffering in the name of a better world, could make us pay a very high social price for the transition. This is why it is in the interest of all countries and, above all, the ones leading in the world economy, which the main responsibility for political stability and security also lies with, to take effective action and give this country the necessary support for its earliest possible integration with the world economy and for resolving its specific economic problems," the letter says.

"In this situation I have the honour of addressing you with an urgent appeal for the G-7 summit paying particular attention to the ways of rendering assistance to the Republic of Bulgaria in the solution of the problems arising from the excessive losses it has suffered and is suffering as a result of the strict observance of the trade and economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)," Dr. Zhelev goes on to say.

"We expect the industrialized countries and the leaders of the G-7 states above all to take action for giving Bulgaria's goods broader access to their markets. In this connection, while expecting your summit to contribute to the successful completion of the Uruguay round of talks within the GATT framework, we express the hope for a show of understanding and support at the negotiations on the Republic of Bulgaria joining the agreement."

"We would ask for giving Bulgaria your political support and financial assistance in order to facilitate the signing of a comprehensive debt reduction and debt servicing agreement with the commercial creditor banks. The reduction of the country's foreign debt is a necessary condition for the realization of the ambitious package of reforms," the Bulgarian head of state writes in conclusion.

Zhelev Denies Involvement in Plot With BSP

AU0707115193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] In connection with the appeal of the Union of Democratic Party [SDS] Municipal Committee in Kyustendil to the president of the republic, urging him to join efforts to persuade the poet Binyo Ivanov, who has been on hunger strike for the last 30 days, to give up his strike, as submitted to BTA this morning, the Press Center of the Presidential Office requested that we should repeat the text of President Zhelev's open letter to the poet, which reads as follows:

Esteemed Mr. Binyo Ivanov, I deeply regret that you, a highly talented and appreciated poet, have believed Sugarev's allegations about the existence of some kind of secret plot between myself and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

Not only have I never signed such an agreement, but I can assure you that I have never assumed any oral or written commitments toward the BSP. This is why I urge you to give up your hunger strike.

I also address Mr. Sugarev, requesting him to admit in public that a document such as the one he is referring to does not exist and that he has been deceiving you.

New Transportation Minister Interviewed

AU0607181793 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Kiril Ermenkov, minister of transportation, by Evgeni Gavrilov; place and date not given: "Privatization Remains a Priority of the Transport Sector"]

[Text] [Gavrilov] Will the current priorities determined by the Ministry of Transportation, such as privatization and restructuring of this particular economic sector, change under your administration?

[Ermenkov] No change whatsoever is required in this respect. The Ministry's program is part of the government program. I think that the initial stage of privatization in our branch is efficiently progressing. As many as 53 enterprises are in the process of denationalization. As many as 42 of them have been selected for estimating

competitions. At least as far as quantity is concerned, we are advancing, taking into consideration the fact that a total of 152 projects on privatization have been drafted.

[Gavrilov] Could one say that transportation is the branch which has suffered the greatest losses as a result of the embargo against former Yugoslavia, and do you see any way out of this situation?

[Ermenkov] I am convinced that transport is the most affected of all sectors. A month and a half ago the Bulgarian Government submitted a memorandum to the United Nations demanding partial compensation for our transport installations. I am talking about six projects mainly connected with the transport corridor through Macedonia and Greece. Through them we could obtain partial compensations.

[Gavrilov] What is the first task which you intend to cope with?

[Ermenkov] A certain delay exists in drafting the bills related to transportation. We should as soon as possible submit a bill on the reorganization of state railroads. This is expected to happen within the first part of July. It is necessary to improve technological discipline. A consultative conference with representatives of international banking institutions on the first stage of a project for the restructuring of the Bulgarian State Railroads is expected to take place in Panichishte next week. This is particularly important considering the desolate financial state of our railroads and the social tension caused by cutting down transport which resulted in the necessity of dismissing personnel. This sub-branch is expected to loose approximately 2 billion leva by the end of the year.

[Gavrilov] The problem of the So Evgeni Matinchev Transport Company has also become topical recently.

[Ermenkov] My stand is categorical that this shareholders' company set up with so much effort should be subject to privatization, but should not split under any form of privatization whatsoever, and regardless of the extent to which the state will participate in it. While the personnel of the Khadzhi Dimitur Railroad Company demand independence, other branches are reacting in the opposite way. They are ready to close down the roads, but this we shall not allow to occur.

[Gavrilov] Are you afraid of unresolved problems?

[Ermenkov] Such problems do not exist, but I am a little disturbed by the stagnation in parliament.

For the last six months the National Assembly did not find time to ratify the agreement with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and with the International Investment Bank for a loan worth $67 million, required for the construction of transit roads and for the modernization of 800 kilometers of highways.

[Gavrilov] Whom do you expect to replace you in your former post?

[Ermenkov] There are not too many candidates for the post of deputy minister. The name of my successor will be announced within the next 10-15 days, I presume. Certain structural changes at the Ministry are also scheduled for the near future. There might be some changes in its leadership. I do not exclude the possibility of inviting the former Minister of Transport Aleksandur Aleksandrov to become my deputy.

[Gavrilov] Until the last moment it appeared that the nomination of the transport minister was one of the most controversial issues. Can you describe the circumstances of your appointment?

[Ermenkov] The problem emerged after the statement of Podkrepa leader Dr. Trenchev concerning my affiliation with the former Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. After I was nominated for the post of minister, I summoned the Ministry's collective and told them that I had been a member of the "Septemvriyche" Young Pioneers' Organization, that I had joined the Komsomol, and the BCP, as well, and that I had been a member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] until the end of 1992. This is my political biography which I am not ashamed of. Currently I am not a political figure, despite my conviction that a minister should be such a figure. I talked to Prime Minister Berov only once, 10 days ago, and he confirmed that I was the most serious candidate for the cabinet seat in question. I said that I would accept the post, as long as no further conditions would be imposed.

On the occasion of last Thursday's [24 June] cabinet session I was introduced to Dr. Trenchev, after which we met in private and explained our arguments. I cannot say anything about his impression, but as far as I am concerned, I was satisfied with the meeting.

Mikhaylov Comments on Crime-Fighting Bills

AU0607190893 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 29 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov by Rumyana Strugarova in Sofia on 29 June: "Interior Ministry Staff Operate on Their Word of Honor"]

[Text] Yesterday, 28 June, the government approved the second part of the package of legislation to control the work of the services forming part of the Interior Ministry. However, the new bills were not presented to the journalists, in contrast to what happened when the cabinet was discussing the laws on the National Security Service and the use of special intelligence devices. For this reason, we sought information on the contents of the bills from their initiator—Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov.

It has already been said, on numerous occasions, that at the moment only one old police act is in effect at the Interior Ministry. This act regulates the work of the police, but all the other Interior Ministry services operate on their word of honor, Minister Mikhaylov

declared. What we are doing now, he said, is to provide a legislative foundation for the specialized services to make them bear their responsibilities and to grant them rights. The present law on the organization of the Interior Ministry cannot furnish such guarantees. Furthermore, it is not popular with the public and creates the impression that the services are operating secretively and outside public control.

[Strugarova] What framework for action do the laws provide for the Central Service for Combating Organized Crime and the Central Service of the Interior Ministry Troops?

[Mikhaylov] The laws give the services the same public image as similar services throughout the world. The Central Service for Combating Organized Crime is centrally responsible for all work connected with narcotics trafficking, arms smuggling, the control of strategic raw materials, and banknote counterfeiting.

The bill for the Interior Ministry troops explicitly lists the cases in which they can be called into action and details their rights and the circumstances under which they can use them.

[Strugarova] Does the law provide explicit guarantees that the Interior Ministry troops cannot be used as a political police?

[Mikhaylov] You will remember how many arguments we had over this issue last year. At that time, accusations were made against the Central Service for Combating Organized Crime to the effect that it was being used for political purposes. All this was possible then, because the service's actions were not controlled by law. The two bills that will be submitted to the National Assembly before the end of September provide this regulation and legitimacy.

[Strugarova] There was a long argument about whether it was necessary to have regional services for combating organized crime.

[Mikhaylov] Yes, there has indeed been a lot of discussion about this. What the bill proposes—and this has been approved by the government—is for regional sections to be set up only in those parts of the country where the crime rate or the risk of serious organized crime requires it.

[Strugarova] Mr. Minister, many disagreements have arisen regarding the bills that you submitted on the National Security Service and on using special intelligence devices. Some claim that these bills create conditions for violating citizen's constitutional rights and liberties. Do you have any similar fears regarding the present package of bills?

[Mikhaylov] Anyone who does not want the bill to pass through the National Assembly can make general claims. To date, no one has shown me any specific passage that contravenes the Constitution or the accords of international law. Former Interior Minister Sokolov objected to two passages connected with the right to use special intelligence-gathering devices, and I have answered him in the press. The objections of the Chief Prosecutors's Office were also examined and some of them were rejected. At the moment the bills are being examined in the parliamentary commissions.

The two bills that the government approved yesterday had been discussed over a long period in the interested government departments, and because of this they did not provoke any special debates, apart from editorial amendments that the Interior Ministry will take into account.

Court Accepts Vice President's Resignation

AU0607171393 Sofia BTA in English 1455 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA)—The Constitutional Court today issued a ruling terminating the powers of Vice President of the Republic of Bulgaria Blaga Dimitrova prior to the expiration of her term of office on the grounds of her resignation, Judge Lyuben Kornezov announced after today's session of the court. The ruling is final and effective as from today, July 6, 1993, he added. On June 30, 1993 Mrs. Dimitrova tendered her resignation from the Vice Presidency, to which she was elected on January 19, 1992 together with President Zhelev. They were nominated by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

The Constitutional Court decided that two circumstances have to be established in order to accept the resignation. The first circumstance is the fact of the tendering of the resignation, originating from the vice president in person, and the second is that the act was the product of her own decision, of a freely expressed volition, rather than the result of duress, threat or fraud. The Constitutional Court determined that both requirements were satisfied, the judge announced.

As to the mass media speculation about the election of a new vice president or about early presidential elections, the Constitutional Court unanimously decided to ignore this question as irrelevant to the subject matter of this case, Mr. Kornezov said. The court may rule on the matter only if petitioned to do so.

At its meeting today, the SDS top political leadership considered, among other things, the resignation of Vice President Blaga Dimitrova. At the SDS news conference today, Filip Dimitrov said that the union supports the reasons connected with the political situation in Bulgaria over the last few months, set forth by Mrs. Dimitrova as motives for her resignation.

Legislative Delegation Returns From U.S.

AU0607201793 Sofia BTA in English 1332 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, which paid a nine-day visit to the United States in late June at the invitation of the U.S. Congress, did not bring back home a basket of money but opened opportunities for wider contacts at the parliamentary

and business level, the head of the delegation Mrs. Snezhana Botusharova, deputy chairwoman of the National Assembly, told a news conference today. The delegation, which consisted of Mrs. Botusharova, Mr. Krasimir Naydenov MP of the New Union for Democracy, Mr. Arif Mustakli MP of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, and Mr. Georgi Pirinski MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, got familiar with the work of the U.S. Congress and discussed shared concerns with congressmen, senators, public figures and businessmen.

Mr. Pirinski singled out the talks with the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Rep. Thomas Foley (D-Wash.), as the most important part of the visit. Rep. Foley accepted an invitation conveyed from the National Assembly chairman to visit Bulgaria. The Bulgarian MP's and the U.S. lawmaker discussed the changes in U.S. cold war legislation, which assigns Bulgaria a disadvantageous trading status. This legislation will be amended within one year, Mr. Foley promised, as quoted by Mrs. Botusharova.

"In the foreseeable future, the United States will not commit itself to Bulgaria to the extent to which we would like to see it," said Mr. Naydenov, adding that the Bulgarian delegation was not told whether Bulgaria will get compensation for the losses which this country sustains by observing the embargo against the former Yugoslavia. "Direct transfer of funds is out of the question," Mr. Pirinski said. World Bank officials, however, did not even consider the opportunity to take Bulgaria's losses into account when negotiating foreign debt settlement terms.

SDS To Ask Parliament To Call Elections

AU0607171593 Sofia BTA in English 1411 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA)—The two largest parliamentary forces: the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party (BSP) and the anti-communist Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), hold opposite views of the possibility of early general elections. While the SDS is readying for elections, the BSP is planning to work actively in parliament.

At its regular meeting today, the SDS National Coordinating Council (the coalition's top political leadership) decided that the union will soon introduce before the National Assembly a draft resolution setting a date for early parliamentary elections at the beginning of November. Asked about the legal grounds for such a move, SDS leader Filip Dimitrov mentioned an article of the Constitution which defines Bulgaria as a "parliamentary republic." "The decision-making powers are vested in parliament," Mr. Dimitrov observed. He and SDS deputy floor leader Ekaterina Mikhaylova spoke in critical terms about the operation of parliament since June 23, when the SDS MP's decided to boycott plenary sittings. "At present, parliament functions without adequate representation, it makes decisions without a quorum and MP's vote using absent MP's cards," Mr. Dimitrov said. Answering a reporter's question, he said that the SDS had not held consultations with other parliamentary parties on its draft resolution on parliament's self-dissolution but, as he put it, there is no reason why opinions should not be sounded out.

The SDS top leadership decided on the formation of groups which will work out an updated version of the SDS programme. The coordinators of the project are former members of the SDS cabinet headed by Filip Dimitrov, which was in office between November 1991 and December 1992.

The matter of possible early elections was not raised at today's regular press briefing of the BSP.

The Socialist MP's are planning to step up their parliamentary activity and push through most tax laws until the end of the present session. They are already preparing their programme for the autumn session, at which they are planning to move for amendments to the Privatization Act. The Socialists believe that further amendments are needed in the Land Act implementing regulations after the latest amendments passed by parliament in May. Socialist Party leader Zhan Videnov said that at their insistence, Socialist MP's met with Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev and, having discussed the progress of land reform, asked the ministry to work out a concept for financing of the autumn planting and a principled state policy of farm preferences. The Socialist leader described as "unrealistic" the promises of speedy land restitution.

OSD, GOR Oppose Early Elections

AU0607182093 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 1 Jul 93 p 2

[DEMOKRATSIYA staff report]

[Text] The Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] and the Civil Alliance for the Republic [GOR] resolutely support the idea that parliament should complete its full term of office. They claim that "a majority" has already been established in parliament permitting the efficient adoption of any legal acts whatsoever. The OSD insists that the formula "early, but not premature electins" should be dropped altogether. The GOR leadership, in turn, reportedly established some tentative political contacts with part of the Centrists, the Alternative Social-Liberals [ASO] in the first place. A meeting with the Pushkarov group is still expected to take place.

"The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] claims that it is not afraid of elections, but I am afraid of them," Chavdar Kyuranov (member of the OSD and of the BSP) said at a briefing yesterday. His colleague Velislava Dureva explained the reason for being afraid—namely that the center is still weak and unstable, and the so-called "ants [the rank and file people] have not sufficiently matured."

The OSD approves a bipolar model but it should be the BSP versus the Centrists! Formerly, the OSD considered the SDS a historical necessity, but today it is convinced that there is no place for the SDS in the current Bulgarian political landscape.

OSD deputies expressed their satisfaction that the National Assembly is already fulfilling its plan ahead of schedule—the tax administration bill was adopted within only one day, for example. The popularity of the National Assembly has allegedly increased to 28 percent. The GOR members are also reported working on the promotion of their public image. They are drafting a project on social welfare assistance, for whose emotional wording they sought the advice of Emilia Maslarova [BSP member of parliament].

Russia Supports FRY Transit Proposal

AU0607174493 Sofia BTA in English 1336 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA)—"Russia is fully understanding of Bulgaria's request for the establishment of free transport corridors across Yugoslavia and backs Bulgaria's demands for concessions in connection with its economic losses resulting from the application of sanctions," says an official reply from Russia to a Bulgarian Government note requesting Russian support for its proposal. "Russia will second Bulgaria's proposal at the UN Security Council and will vote in favour of it," the document says further on. The Russian ambassador in Sofia, Mr. Aleksandr Avdeyev, today delivered the official reply to Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. The Russian delegate to the Security Council Yuliy Vorontsov has been instructed to uphold this position, in coordination with the Bulgarian ambassador to the United Nations, the reply says.

On June 30, 1993, on behalf of the Council of Ministers Prime Minister Berov handed the ambassadors in Sofia of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council a note proposing the opening of overland corridors for transit of Bulgarian traffic across the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and eased regulations for shipping on the River Danube so as to ameliorate the condition of the Bulgarian economy which has been aggravated by the embargo against Serbia.

Cultural Protocol Signed With Russia

AU0707070993 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA)—The Ministers of Culture of Bulgaria and Russia signed a protocol on cultural cooperation in 1993-94 here today. Prof. Ivaylo Znepolski signed for Bulgaria and Mr. Evgeniy Sidorov signed for Russia.

Under the protocol, cooperation will be effected mainly through direct contacts and exchanges between governmental and non-governmental organizations, cultural institutions and individuals in all areas of cultural activity. The two countries will make efforts to preserve Russian and Bulgarian monuments of cultural value on their territories. They will take joint actions to prevent the smuggling of works of art and will organize their repatriation.

The protocol envisages a joint celebration of May 24, the Day of Slavonic Letters and Culture, and an exchange of experts. The parties to the protocol will provide normal working conditions to the Bulgarian Cultural Institute in Moscow and the Centre of Russian Science and Culture in Sofia.

Earlier today Mr. Sidorov was received by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. They expressed willingness to intensify contacts between the two countries' foundations and institutes supporting creative work and individual authors. Young people should be given priority in these contacts, according to Mr. Sidorov. Prof. Berov said more frequent visits by representatives of the arts—the cinema, theatre, opera, ballet and the fine arts—will keep alive the link between the two peoples.

OECD Ranks Nation in Second Group

AU0307153293 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 2 (BTA)—Bulgaria, along with Romania and Slovakia, ranks in the second group of countries of the former Eastern bloc according to a world economic report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] on the first half of 1993, released yesterday.

East European countries fall into three groups, according to the report. Poland, which has registered economic growth, Hungary and the Czech Republic rank first, followed by Bulgaria, Romania and Slovakia. The former Soviet republics come next. According to OECD estimates, the first signs of economic growth in Bulgaria will become obvious in 1994. The persisting slump in Bulgarian production is put down to the incomplete legislative framework much needed during the transition to a market economy and the crushing burden of the foreign debt. According to projections, Bulgaria, Romania and Slovakia are in for a further drop in production. The report says things are uncertain in Bulgaria and Romania, where structural adjustment should be completed in order to stabilize the economy.

According to the OECD report, unemployment in the former socialist countries will go up, thus exerting pressure on the governments to bail loss-making state-owned enterprises out of bankruptcy. Despite the progress in banking reforms, the shortage of credits will probably impede investment.

Kozloduy Manager Discusses Future of Station

AU0607081293 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 1 Jul 93 p 4

[Interview with Kozma Kuzmanov, manager of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, by correspondent Margarita Kamenova; place and date not given: "$100 Million Would Be Required for the Modernization of the Fifth and Sixth Reactors, But Where Could it Come From?"]

[Text] [Kamenova] The Kozloduy nuclear power station has made great efforts to convince the public that closing down the first and second reactors would entail greater losses than could be compensated for by the European Bank For Reconstruction and Development. Is this true?

[Kuzmanov] This is a very difficult question. The first and second reactors will be put out of operation some day. Their resources will be exhausted in 10 years' time, and in the meantime we should be prepared to replace these power units. As far as I understand the agreement signed with the bank, it contains clauses that stipulate that we must commit ourselves to closing down the reactors only if our country's energy resources permit it. Everything should be planned in time, and the energy resources to replace these two reactors should be guaranteed in advance.

[Kamenova] Does it mean that the deadline for putting the reactors out of operation has been extended?

[Kuzmanov] The date has not been definitely set. The first deadline was 1 April 1997, but it could be postponed. As I have already said, the condition is that our energy supply situation should permit it. The reactors are still operating effectively. The latest study of the second reactor is excellent. Let 1997 come, and then we shall think about it. Our obligation is to provide optimal safety and take care that it should be constantly improved.

[Kamenova] In view of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant's urgent needs, the amount of 24 million ECU [European Currency Unit] is not spectacular. Nevertheless, how do you intend to use it?

[Kuzmanov] The amount is not very grand, indeed. It will be granted in the form of equipment, technology, and technical installations, which will basically be invested in the operation of the third and fourth reactors.

[Kamenova] What about the future fate of those reactors?

[Kuzmanov] Well, they are also likely to be closed down one day, but, for the time being, we intend to modernize them. They shall be exploited as long as they are safe.

[Kamenova] Do you agree that the demand to put the old reactors out of operation was dictated by purely political interests?

[Kuzmanov] Yes, indeed. This is true, under all circumstances. Nevertheless, I think that better solutions existed. I appove of our technical equipment, and it can continue to operate, though we should take care of its safety, so that it may be optimally exploited. We shall pursue our work in this respect. The most important thing is to create conditions for the normal operation of Kozloduy.

[Kamenov] It has become known that modernization of the fifth and sixth reactors is envisaged. This is expected to cost approximately $100 million. Where would you get this from?

[Kuzmanov] We shall seek to obtain the necessary resources from credits by every means. The amount is high, but it corresponds to our estimates on the costs for the modernization of the fifth and sixth reactors.

Prime Minister Interviewed on Economy

LD0607211093 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1645 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Katerina Kasparova on 6 July; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kasparova] At the end of last week the OECD published its six-month report. It says the world economy is coming to an the end of a three-year period of economic decline. At the same time, it says a general recovery is still some way away. On the other hand, Poland has seen a slight recovery of economic growth. The same development is expected in the Czech Republic and Hungary. This is, of course, an optimistic prospect, Prime Minister, but is it at all possible to compare crisis and recovery in the developed world with those in our country?

[Klaus] These figures are a bit loose. My comment is that of an economist who has spent his life following, studying, and dealing with such figures. The only thing these figures show us is that the world is not turning to a rocket-like and rapid economic growth capable of pulling us forward as well. This would be a pleasant prospect, but it is not going to happen.

As for what is going on in our countries, the countries of the East: Development here has contradictory features; there are occasional signs of revival in certain industries and spheres, but at the same time there are spheres where things have not yet reached rock-bottom. That is the case with Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

[Kasparova] Let us now leave the outside world but let us stick to economic issues. Last week the government approved guidelines to regulate wage increases. The response to this move was not too hot. That was to be expected in case of trade unions. The reaction of one of the government coalition parties—the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA]—was rather surprising, however. On Friday [2 July] the ODA opposed this cabinet decision. It argued, among other things, that steps of this kind should be carefully considered. What then were the specific matters the government overlooked in drawing up this measure?

[Klaus] I do no know what the government could have overlooked. The government has been continually agonizing over this issue for some two or three months. It has been examining whether the situation has reached a point where other measures could be taken. And so, to say that it had overlooked something seems to me to be a wrong way of looking at things. [passage omitted]

The point in question is that in a normally functioning market economy, in a liberalized market economy, there cannot occur a phenomenon such as excessive and quite inappropriate growth of wages. This growth could occur only if some basic principle on which the economy rests is damaged, weakened, or eroded. This has happened in our country. This means that this self-regulating mechanism is absent, and we should therefore give it a slight boost.

Therefore, someone's considerations that this measure is not liberal amounts to an absolute misunderstanding of the problem. I am not sure whether those who discuss this matter actually read the wage regulation guidelines, because if they care to read it they would not be able to voice the kind of blatant untruths that can be heard on our media.

I am not sure whether everybody is aware that if someone increases his takings by 100 percent this year, i.e. if they are twice what they were last year, he can double wages and no one will hold anything against him. I am not sure whether those criticizing this regulation are actually saying this and whether someone actually knows anything about it. It would be a good thing if this became general knowledge. [passage omitted]

And so, I regard attacks on this issue as truly malicious, unnecessarily malicious. It was quite unnecessary. One should not even mention the fact that all those who criticized it spent many months debating it.

[Kasparova] Among those who took part in the wage regulation debate were trade unions, which, as expected, became its biggest opponents. Their experts think companies have plenty of opportunities to avoid sanctions imposed on them. Is the government aware of this development? To what extent, in your view, will companies make use of this opportunity? How will you respond to it?

[Klaus] [passage omitted] I fully respect this fact, although it does not mean that I like it. But I absolutely understand it, and I know that trade unions must carry on like this because otherwise they would deny the reason for their own being.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that their response was ill-prepared. They were not prepared for the ways this regulation will actually be functioning. They did not understand very well what the problem is. When I drew it on a blackboard during our meeting in Hotel Atom near Prague, they suddenly realized that it is not so bad and that it affects only those companies which exceed the sensible framework of wage increases. When I spoke to them, they said things were fine, but when they got home they took a second breath and started making stronger remarks. So, that's all about the understanding of wage regulations.

As for avoiding the regulations, well, in my view these polemics and the whole subject are unnecessary. [passage omitted]

I would be very surprised if the trade unions should dare call for disobedience in this respect.

[Kasparova] [passage omitted] Prime Minister, the interview is about to be concluded. Perhaps we could take stock in some way. Although this is usually done at the

end of a calendar year, the end of your first year in office will do just as well. A continuing economic reform, the introduction of a [West] European-style tax system, closer ties with [Western] Europe all spring to mind. Is this too much or too little for one year in the life of a country?

[Klaus] [passage omitted] The year has been disrupted by the disintegration of Czechoslovakia. This was a hitch which need not have happened in that year. Without it we would have proceeded more simply and more quickly.

I am still reluctant to evaluate single phenomena. I think we have to assess the year in its entirety. I think that the general view would be that we are moving along the right track at a correct pace. We have succeeded in keeping the whole thing together. We have not wavered or swayed in any direction. I consider that to be a triumph which has not quite been pulled off in other post-communist countries.

There are, of course, implications for the domestic scene and, increasingly, for foreign policy. The latter, as we have come to realize, are not exactly favorable. I still think our boat is sailing u[illegible]r the right flag, though.

Klaus Objects to ODA Position on Wage Regulation

LD0207190793 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Text] Prague, July 2 (CTK)—Czech premier and Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Chairman Vaclav Klaus today expressed great dissatisfaction over the continuing friction within the governing coalition as it was shown by the position of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) on wage regulation. Klaus's spokeswoman Klara Pospisilova told CTK that today's discussions and voting in the government had an entirely objective, and not partisan, character. She said that Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy (ODA) had stated at the meeting that he would not make any statements that would take exception to the government's decision, and that he accepted that.

ODA Deputy Chairman Libor Kudlacek told journalists earlier today that the ODA ministers had not supported the wage regulation proposal at the government meeting. He said that the ODA opposes the government's decision on wage regulation, considers it ineffective and fears that it could backfire.

On June 30, the cabinet accepted a provision to regulate the growth of wages from July 1 until at least the end of the year. Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said that the measure will affect enterprises where wage increases exceed productivity.

Union leaders and representatives of employers' and enterprise associations have rejected the introduction of wage controls, saying that this measure does not have a legal foundation.

Zieleniec Receives Austrian Foreign Minister

LD0207170893 Prague CTK in English 1517 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Text] Prague, July 2 (CTK)—Visiting Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock met today with his Czech counterpart Josef Zieleniec to discuss Austrian-Czech economic relations and the difficulties which accompany them.

Mock told journalists after the meeting that Austria had suspended the introduction of anti-dumping restrictions on Czech agricultural machine imports which had been prepared.

Mock said he conveyed to Zieleniec the concern of the Austrian public over the Czech Republic's intention to complete a nuclear power plant in Telemin, South Bohemia (some 80 kilometres from the Austrian bordered.) He said Austria was interested in participating in the establishment of an early warning system in Central Europe, in case of dangerous radiation leaks.

Zieleniec said that the Czech Republic's active approach to creating an early warning system might help ease the tension between the two countries in connection with nuclear power stations. He said he had proposed to Mock that Austria cooperate more closely with the Visegrad group countries (the Czech and Slovak republics, Hungary and Poland).

Finance Minister Notes Budget Surplus in June

LD0207162193 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1030 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Text] [Announcer] At his regular news conference today, Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said that the Czech and Slovak commissions in charge of former federal property division will not meet until 15 July. Marie Ruzickova reports.

[Ruzickova] Minister Kocarnik recalled that after the talks held between the Czech and Slovak presidents yesterday in Smolenice the situation was ready to sign a framework agreement on the division of property. This general [sumarizujici] agreement will for the moment include specific agreements that have remained open. One of them concerns for instance the balancing of the deficit of the last federal budget. Kocarnik said the talks on this issue had ended in a deadlock. This week, however, the Slovak side has promised that it will be prepared to discuss how the deficit could be shared.

Minister Kocarnik said at the news conference that, yet again, the budget had a positive trend in June, namely a surplus of 5.6 billion korunas on 30 June.

The talks between the Czech Republic and Austria on dumping prices were discussed. Minister Kocarnik does not regard the talks outcome as satisfactory. He accused the Czech negotiators of being too soft. Although Austria had promised not to implement sanctions, in reality it would want to see companies' accounts [kalkulace]. Kocarnik said this was outrageous.

Germany Returns 112 Persons Under Asylum Law

AU0507181493 Prague CTK in English 1946 GMT 4 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 4 (CTK)—Czech border police detained 117 foreigners caught attempting to cross illegally into the German land of Saxony over the weekend.

German police returned 112 persons to the Czech Republic, the television programme Udalosti [Events] reported.

Germany also strengthened its eastern border contingent with guards from its western and other borders, the programme reported. Individual guards will each receive an additional 3,000 DM (about 6,000 crowns, or 2,000 USD) monthly as an incentive for eastern border duty.

The new German asylum law, which took effect July 1, designates the Czech Republic as a safe country, i.e. where people are not subject to political or other persecution. The law states that anyone caught on German territory within 48 hours of entering the country illegally may be returned immediately to the safe country from which he or she came.

Inspection Ministry Discontinues Operations

AU0507164293 Prague CTK in English 1512 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 1 (CTK)—The highest Czech inspection organs, the Czech Ministry of State Inspection (MSK) and the High Office of Inspection of the Czech Republic (NKU) discontinued their operations today, Igor Nemec, a member of Czech cabinet and the former minister of inspection, and Irma Zlatohlavkova, vice-president of the former NKU, told CTK.

Inspections activities have stopped, and inspectors can no longer go out on jobs, said Nemec, who remains a member of the cabinet.

Employees of the former NKU will continue to process the previously assembled data. The results will be submitted to the statutory representatives of the new High Office of Inspection, namely its president and vice-president, Zlatohlavkova said.

The law on the new High Office of Inspection, adopted by the parliamentary Chamber of Deputies on May 20, takes effect today. The new inspection body, however, cannot start its work until its president and vice-president are nominated.

The parliament should give the situation proper consideration, stop hesitating, and nominate the figures for the posts, Nemec said.

If the deputies are now unable to find such persons and recommend them to the president of the Republic for appointment, they should find some interim personnel solution, Zlatohlavkova said.

Foreign Trade Surplus Declines

AU0607200693 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Jul pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Surplus Balance of Czech Republic Trade"]

[Text] The share of exports on the total volume of trade in May amounted to 28.2 billion korunas [Kc], and that of imports to Kc27.7 billion. These figures—from the preliminary data released by the Czech Statistical Office yesterday—show a surplus in excess of Kc0.5 billion. This includes Czech exports to Slovakia of Kc5.9 billion, and imports from Slovakia of Kc5.5 billion. From the beginning of the year to the end of May, the Czech Republic exported goods to the value of Kc135.6 billion, and imported Kc128.8 billion worth of merchandise.

Exports to Slovakia amounted to Kc28.2 billion of this amount, and imports from Slovakia to Kc24.7 billion.

In the first five months of this year, in comparison with the same period of last year, Czech exports (without data for Slovakia) increased by 12 percent. Nevertheless, imports rose by more than 21 percent, and the surplus declined by almost Kc7 billion.

Meciar Interviewed on Current Issues

LD0207193693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Regular interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, by reporter Lintner, not further identified; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lintner] Prime Minister, at the beginning of our interview I would like to draw attention to Wednesday [30 June], just before midday, when the Committee of Ministers [of the Council of Europe] voted in Strasbourg to approve Slovakia's admission to the Council of Europe. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] The fundamental fact is that Slovakia has received a certificate of adulthood: It is a country with a democratic legal system, its political system is in harmony with the democratic setup of Europe, and has preconditions to develop.

As for the entanglments in the final phase, all are of course interested in preserving good relations with each other. What happened is that Hungarian policy has gone over the top. They have always emphasized the minority policy by considering it to be dominant and decisive, and have assigned a greater space to it than outlined by European regulations.

I would not like to return just to what has taken place in Hungary as, following talks between the two foreign ministers, we can note that the Hungarian Government's stance was greatly influenced by the action taken by Hungarian political parties in Slovakia.

I must call on officials of those parties to accept the European norms of the conditions for minorities and not to accelerate their development on behalf of the minorities, or to hinder in this way Slovakia's democratic development. [passage omitted]

[Lintner] Prime Minister, 30 June and Strasbourg will without doubt become an important day for Slovakia. Several hours have gone by since then, nevertheless I would like to ask you: Has Slovakia not taken certain steps that plays into the hands of representatives of political parties and movements representing Hungarian minorities and, subsequently, also Hungarian politicians?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] I feel quite confident to say that I am very familiar with all the nooks and crannies surrounding the preparations for our membership within the Council of Europe. Last week I attended talks abroad. Absolutely nothing was said about these talks at home. Guidelines and a scenario for our admission were drawn up at these talks, given Hungary's stance on the issue. Our actions were not guided by our domestic situation. There are other reasons, reasons of international nature. The issue of President Benes decrees is not a Slovak problem. It is a Czech problem, which is to be imported into Bohemia via Slovakia. So the background and the nature of all of this is absolutely different than it appears at first glance. Since you have asked about things done on the domestic scene, then what else could we have done?

[Lintner] I had in mind, for example, the (?excessive) zeal of the Transport Ministry in implementing the transport law, in particular regarding the boards bearing Hungarian names.

[Meciar] The transport minister requested that the transport signs be retained and that the rendering of local names, in the event that names are rendered in two languages, are legally amended. But that is up to parliament. This law has not been passed yet. [passage omitted]

[Lintner] You mentioned President Benes's decrees. In your first evaluation you said the issue could turn into a pandora's box. What is the real danger, in your view, Prime Minister?

[Meciar] First of all it is necessary to ask whether President benes really was a constitutional president or not, and whether all the acts are legal or not. These acts restored the continuity of Czechoslovakia, the legal order of the Slovak state was abolished. If the decrees are invalid, then these consequences are also invalid. The transfer of Hungarians and Germans which was guaranteed by international treaties and international agreements would thus be annulled and invalid. [passage omitted]

[Lintner] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus voiced his disappointment at your answer to his letter. He felt that your approach was fundamentally different. What do you think about that, Prime Minister?

[Meciar] That he is right.

[Lintner] What is the difference?

[Meciar] The difference is that a certain system of border controls between the republics does exist. Agreements exist and so far no one from the Czech side has told me about their pitfalls. Furthermore, the Czechs presented a draft agreement contradicting everything written by Prime Minister Klaus. It rules out free movement of persons across the borders, it rules out contacts between Slovakia and the Czech Republic, and contacts between citizens. It rules out crossings at any point on personal documents. Although this was written in the letter, it is not written in the treaty.

[Lintner] Is it true then that the draft agreement you had a chance to see contradicts what the presidents discussed yesterday?

[Meciar] Yes, it completely contradicts it. There is still another issue, however. We are heading toward the third millennium. Are we going to erect the Great Walls of China? Will it not be a disgrace for all of us if put them up? After all, these things are enormously costly. Almost 2 billion korunas will be needed to establish fixed

borders. Is there not an opportunity to use them somewhere else, for a better cause?

The next issue we are facing is related to the further development of relations. After all, do we really want the re-admission agreement—and we have this agreement with the Czech Republic—if their assumption is that the readmission agreement will amount to restricting the movement of people and will solve nothing because people able to travel to the Czech Republic without visas will continue to arrive. If they discard their personal documents, it will be impossible to establish their identity and the place and time of crossing. How then will they want to return these people to us?

Furthermore, the issue of our readmission agreements is open. Matters are heading in the right direction with regard to Ukraine and Poland. The Government has already approved those. With regard to Hungary, the issue remains open since Hungary is tied to an agreement with Romania. At the moment we are not sure whether we should conclude an agreement with Romania on their behalf, or whether they should do it themselves. We do not know how this issue should be understood.

So I do not stand for the erection of the kind of border advocated by Mr. Ruml [Czech interior minister] long before the issue of asylum seekers was mentioned. He has been continually pushing for it in Czech politics and he has been pressing for it. Nothing is solved in that way. Relations will deteriorate. Czech politicians are making the very same mistake with regard to customs houses. On 27 December we said publicly on television that there would be no customs houses. On 28 December they were already put up in a number of places. Yes, although customs officers can intercept goods worth several hundred million crowns, they have slashed down turnover by several billions. My congratulations on such an economic feat. I do not want that!

And so, even though the talks between the presidents were held in a spirit of developing pressure on the governments, the government is a collective body with a collective vote. I am saying beforehand: I shall support that. We do not need to erect an iron curtain between states and peoples.

[Lintner] Through its Foreign Minister Zieleniec, the Czech side stressed at yesterday's talks that the new border control system would apply to citizens of third countries. You are saying, and have just spoken in that sense, that there is an important catch. Prime Minister Klaus has said on behalf of the Czech side that the Slovak agreement with the Czech Republic has been accepted in a certain stage of development, namely while the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic was being divided. The sovereign existence of both republics has brought about a new situation, as witnessed in the case of the agreement on currency. This has proved that maybe we should look at some of these agreements again.

[Meciar] I was there and I know how it came about. As for the currency division, we said quite clearly that we would try and carry on until the end of June. That is quite a difference. That is why we have compiled amendments which say that the currency division could happen before that date.

As for the border regime, we knew immigration existed at the time of the talks. No significant factor has emerged. Not one citizen has been returned from the Federal Republic of Germany so far.

Another fact is that we have created a blueprint for relations. We said that Czechs and Slovaks would try and set up something in the vein of a miniature Maastricht, which would determine how close relations between the countries of Central Europe would be. Instead of going back to this blueprint, which was identical to the main principle of the talks—to build a new model for relations between two countries which might serve as a model for a democratic set-up—we see that the trend to distance oneself from the idea has been continuing. Who is determining what the policy will be?

As for agreements, they tend to have a proviso about being valid until bilaterally cancelled or unilaterally abrogated. As far as I know the Czech Republic has not cancelled or abrogated the agreements. Talks on border controls have been held at the level of foreign ministries, even though the government disagrees with it. Now it has been proposed to hold talks at the level of interior ministries. However, the documentation that has been presented to the Slovak interior minister—and which he has shown me—negates everything that has been said on the issue. The truth lies elsewhere.

[Lintner] Maybe we shall have to wait and see the truth out?

[Meciar] It would be no problem for me at all to release the draft agreement to a press agency so that they can publish it, should the Czech side deny its contents. However, I sincerely hope that this will not happen. The Czechs know what the reality is, and that it is the way we describe it.

Moravcik on Hungarian Reaction to Slovak CE Admission

AU0307181193 Prague CTK in English 1558 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Strasbourg, June 30 (CTK)—The Hungarian reservations on Slovakia's policy toward ethnic minorities are only partially justifiable, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik told CTK today.

He was reacting to the reserved stand taken by the Hungarian representative during today's vote by the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe (CE) on Slovakia's admission to this organization.

The Hungarian representative did not support Slovakia's admission and abstained from voting. The same stand was taken by Hungarian deputies at the session of the CE

parliamentary assembly, who voiced reservations about Bratislava's policy towards the 600,000 ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia.

Of course, we are going to discuss these reservations. However, the things are not yet ripe. We might be able to accept some questions, but as to other ones, we will have to persuade Hungary that the situation is simply different from how they perceive it, Moravcik said.

The Hungarian stand indicated that Slovakia would have to strive even harder to build mutual confidence between Bratislava and Budapest, Moravcik stated. The Hungarian attitude to Slovakia's admission to the CE enables us to continue looking for a form of lasting conciliation between the two countries, he added.

Finance Minister Addresses Business Association

LD0307171493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 3 Jul 93

[Text] Finance Minister Julius Toth explained the government's plans in the field of support for small and middle-sized businesses at a meeting of the General Council of the Association of Entrepreneurs of Slovakia in Skalica. He emphasized that one of the recommendations of the IMF mission was aimed at reducing expenditure from the state budget by four billion korunas and increasing income by three to three and a half billion koruny.

As Julius Toth said, one of the measures will be to increase Value-Added Tax and the introduction of additional taxes, including an import surcharge. During the discussion the businessmen pointed out that the prepared measures will again impair conditions for business.

Political Parties React to CE Admission

AU0207141093 Prague CTK in English 1907 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Braitslava, June 30 (CTK)—The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) considers today's admission of Slovakia to the Council of Europe (CE) a very significant moment in the Slovak nation's history, KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky told CTK today.

However, the partnership with the other European nations gives Slovakia not only esteem, but also a commitment, Carnogursky added.

Chairman of the ethnic Hungarians' Egyutteles [Coexistence] Movement Miklos Duray expressed his satisfaction at Slovakia's admission to the CE. The conditions which proposed to Slovakia by the CE parliamentary assembly and which it had met, are fully in line with Egyutteles's program, Duray said.

Laszlo Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS) said he considered today's voting at the session of the CE Ministerial Committee to be a victory for (political) realism. This result might contribute to improving Slovak-Hungarian relations in Slovakia as well as relations between the Hungarian and Slovak Republics.

Spokesman for the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) Gyula Bardos said that Slovakia's admission to the CE could be considered a guarantee of further democratic developments in Slovakia. CE control mechanisms can help solve the well-known problems of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, in accordance with the CE's recommendation (given to Slovakia before its admission and suggesting ways of approaching some Slovak-Hungarian questions yet to be settled—ed.), he said.

SNS Withdraws From Talks With Opposition

AU0507181193 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Bratislava July 1 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party (SNS) considers further talks with the opposition impossible, due to the SNS's negotiations with the ruling Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) on forming a coalition, party representatives stated in a letter sent to parliamentary opposition parties today.

The letter was sent to the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), the Democratic Left Party (SDL), the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) and the Coexistence Movement.

In a response given CTK today, the MKDH stated that the move by the SNS was correct, though overdue.

SDL Chairman Denounces KSU Accusations

LD0607181693 Prague CTK in English 1719 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Bratislava, July 6 (CTK)—Democratic Left Party (SDL) Chairman Peter Weiss considers accusations made by representatives of the Christian Social Union (KSU) June 28 of illegal conduct in disposing of Slovak Communist Party property to be a political campaign aimed at discrediting him and his party.

At a SDL press conference today, Weiss noted that the government had looked into reports on assuming Slovak Communist Party (KSS) property in May 1991. At that time, government members, including current KSU Deputy Chairman Viliam Oberhauser, voted to accept a resolution by which then Slovak finance minister and current President Michal Kovac was obliged to verify the legality of conduct in assuming Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSC) property. The accusation is unfounded and not based on truth, Weiss said.

Weiss said he considered the conduct of KSU representatives to be dangerous and politically uncultured. In their attempt to attract attention to themselves, he said, the representatives were using groundless and fabricated

assertions. It forces me to take every legal step to protect my name and the name of the SDL, he said.

Lubomir Fogas, SDL deputy to the National Council of the Slovak Republic (Parliament), said that Slovakia's acceptance into the Council of Europe (CE) had laid down new conditions for Slovakia's activities in an international context and for resolving global central European problems. He said that this would also lead to the expansion of the CE's activities, which have until now been directed especially towards the observance of human rights.

Lieutenant General Outlines Situation in Army

AU0607201693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jul 93 p 2

["(on)"-signed report: "Six Months' Balance"]

[Text] Pezinok—NATO representatives, too, are highly appreciating the manner in which we succeeded in dividing the federal army within three months, Lieutenant General Julius Humaj, chairman of the Slovak Republic' Army Commander Council for Cooperation with the Public, said at the council's meeting yesterday. In a record time, almost 4,500 pieces of military technology have been transferred to Slovakia, 35,000 military sets [vojenska suprava], and more than 50,000 tonnes of material.

At the meeting of the council on the premises of the 186th Air-Defense and Anti-Missile Brigade in Pezinok, Gen. Humaj said that the division of federal army property and the redeployment of the units has been almost completed with few exceptions, despite the fact that "no army has guidelines for its own division." On 29 June, the Operation Plan of the Army [operacni plan armady] was approved. The Slovak Republic has at its disposal almost 500 tanks, almost 700 armored infantry vehicles, and an appropriate quantity of artillery weapons. In total, there are 229 airplanes in army service, of which, 114 are combat airplanes.

Parliament approved the army budget for this year amounting to 8.2 billion korunas, despite the fact that the demand was for 12 billion. In reality, this means limitations on spending to such an extent that the army has ceased to pay invoices from its suppliers. This is—despite all the positive things achieved within the first six months of the existence of the army—a serious fact. This, and the fact that discipline has declined while the number of crimes committed by basic-service soldiers is increasing are serious matters. Of the 8,000 officers and warrant-officers of Slovak nationality in the Czech Republic, some 1,000 were transferred to the Slovak Army. The number of officers available for commanding posts is smaller than what the army would need. It is not quite clear, as yet, whether the budget will be able to accommodate requirements for the housing of at least those officers who are still commuting to Czech garrisons.

Goncz Reviews Visit to Russia

LD0507103493 Budapest MTI in English 1002 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 5 (MTI)—Back from a two-week tour of Finno-Ugric republics of Russia, Hungarian president Arpad Goncz said he had gained practical insights into the region. "My trip to these republics, as well as Bashkortostan and Tatarstan, was very successful. Although I can't speak of a breakthrough, because Hungary has had links with most of these territories for many years, the visit was informative, adding personal experience to my abstract knowledge," Goncz said.

"It is clear that each republic requires a different approach as each economy and its potential is different. Nor can they be identified with Moscow, as all are facing different challenges.

"In view of the complexities, the Hungarian delegation was careful not to interfere with the internal political affairs of Russia," the president said.

Meeting Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Goncz conveyed the Finno-Ugric peoples' request for a coordinated central policy towards minorities and conditions for mother-tongue eduaction. He said leaders of the Finno-Ugric republics were potential allies of Russian reform.

Businessmen accompanying the delegation held almost 250 talks, with promising negotiations to continue, Goncz said.

Government Predicts Economic Growth for 1994

LD0507161693 Budapest MTI in English 1534 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 5 (MTI)—The government is projecting some growth in the economy for 1994, after three years of economic downturn.

In the lead up to the 1994 budget, the government forecast is for the country's gross domestic product [GDP] to exceed this year's GDP by at least 1 per cent and possibly by as much as 3 per cent.

The most significant drop in GDP, of 11.9 per cent, occurred in 1991. Last year the country's GDP fell by 4-6 per cent, and the government is projecting a 0-3 per cent drop for this year.

For the economy to improve, an increase in domestic consumption and investment, and a dramatic rise in foreign trade will need to occur. Domestic consumption is expected to stop decreasing next year.

Per capita real income is expected to drop by 5-6 per cent this year, followed by a slight decrease next year. However the volume of individual consumption is expected to stabilise at the 1993 level as a result of a decrease in savings.

Investment is expected to rise by 5-10 per cent due to an acceleration in the privatization process, the inflow of foreign capital and infrastructural developments related to the world expo.

Foreign trade, particularly in the export sector, is expected to decrease considerably this year, with exports falling by 2-10 per cent. In 1994 however, exports should be 3-6 per cent up on this year's relatively low level. At the same time, due to growing investment demand, imports are also expected to rise by 3-6 per cent.

Both producer and consumer price inflation will moderate further. While producer prices are likely to increase by 13-15 per cent this year, the increase will be down to 12-14 per cent next year. Consumer prices will rise by 16-20 per cent in 1994 after a 20-22 per cent increase this year.

Unemployment is expected to peak at the end of this year at 15-16 per cent and to fall to 12-14 per cent by the end of 1994.

Gabcikovo Dam Dispute Remains Deadlocked

LD0607153993 Budapest MTI in English 1323 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—It will take a new political move to break a deadlock in the Hungarian-Slovak dispute on the Gabcikovo barrage, Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman said on Tuesday [6 July].

A Hungarian representative in Brussels has called for a further meeting between Hungary, Slovakia and the European Community, so far without response, Herman added.

He also spoke of visit by U.S. politicial scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski to Bratislava over the weekend, and said, Hungary had offered to inform him on its position on the barrage. Brzezinski had, in principle, accepted the invitation, but a date for his visit has yet to be set. However, he said, he would give an opinion only after hearing both sides.

Annual Net Foreign Debt-Servicing Decreases

LD0507121293 Budapest MTI in English 1138 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 5 (MTI)—Hungary's annual net foreign debt-servicing is decreasing both in absolute terms and as compared to the Gross Domestic Product.

A recent government study says that in 1994 Hungary will have to repay a net USD 3.72 billion in foreign debt, USD 100 million less than this year, and USD 620 million less than in 1992.

According to National Bank of Hungary figures, in May Hungary's net debt was USD 16.9 billion.

Next year, net repayments of principal will be USD 2.4 billion, USD 200 million less than this year, and USD 600 million less than in 1992, however interest repayments will be slightly up on this year's USD 1.25 billion to USD 1.3 billion.

The net debt service ratio to GDP will fall from 12.9 per cent last year to 10 per cent this year and 8.5-9 per cent next year.

Meanwhile, the study says direct foreign investment will remain significant. So far, USD 5 billion has been invested in Hungary. This year, USD 1.5 billion is expected and the same next year.

The current account will show a larger deficit, at an expected USD 1-1.5 billion this year and USD 0.8-1.3 billion next year, mainly explained by a halt to declining production and instead growth with the associated demand for imports.

Horn Views Domestic Issues, Party Prospects

AU0707120393 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Jul 93 p 6

[Interview with Socialist Party Chairman Gyula Horn by Istvan Tanacs in Kiskunhalas; date not given: "The Population's Patience Keeps the Government in Power"]

[Text] [Tanacs] According to Laszlo Lengyel, among the supporters of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], there are social strata—such as the new entrepreneurs from former members of the nomenclature, pensioners whose situation is deteriorating, people living off their wages. and the former communist intelligentsia—whose interests are conflicting. This is why it is impossible to write a clear program and it is impossible to tell whom the MSZP prefers and whom it rejects.

[Horn] I highly appreciate Laszlo Lengyel for his professional achievement and courage, but I do not agree with his opinion.

If, for example, we take a stand against unemployment, we can only do this in the framework of a concrete program. Jobs can be created by the slowly strengthening middle class, and the interests of the employees and employers cannot be in conflict on this matter. I think that most of our citizens think much more clearly than wanting to promote their interests to the detriment of others'. I know many entrepreneurs, and they do not want special conditions, they only want a change in the attitude toward them, and that economic and financial conditions should be stable and predictable. This is definitely not in conflict with the interests of other strata of our society, and the MSZP does not want to implement its economic and social policy concepts to the detriment of certain interests.

[Tanacs] A recent article in NEPSZABADSAG claimed that there were still people in the MSZP who are making it difficult for the party to get rid of its label as a successor party [to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party—MSZMP]. According to the writer, these people and groups should be forced out, so that the MSZP can become a clearly authentic social democratic party. What is your opinion on this?

[Horn] I do not know any politician who was born after May 1990. Every public figure is connected with the past, each one in a different form. Some 30,000-35,000 former members of the MSZMP are now members of other parties, not of the MSZP. If we played any role in the change of regime in Hungary, we did it from our position then. If we had been members of an active opposition of only a few dozen people, we would not have been in a position to carry out the change in the regime. I think that this constant mentioning of the past is totally senseless and unjust. What do you expect from us? To start a wave of purges? What should be the criterion? Age? One's position in the past? One who did not accept the new regime did not join the MSZP either. It is no accident that we are now receiving the toughest criticism from the Workers Party, rather than from the governing parties.

[Tanacs] Many people ask whether it would be preferable for the MSZP to join the government coalition next year, or to strengthen itself further as an opposition party.

[Horn] We said that we would accept governing without a second thought if we achieved election results that include governing responsibility. For me, this is not a question. If a party declares that it refrains from accepting political responsibility, it can forget about participating in political life. We would lose credibility if we refused to accept governing responsibility after the numerous concrete proposals that we have made as an opposition party. I say this aware that the political parties gaining power in 1994 will have a terribly difficult task in handling the heritage of the current government.

[Tanacs] Miklos Nemeth is again on the popularity list. What do you think about his possible return?

[Horn] It would be a good thing for him to return, and his presence would benefit Hungarian public life. However, the fact that the MSZP survived without Miklos Nemeth over the past three years does not contradict this. My opinion is that Miklos Nemeth himself must decide on this issue.

[Tanacs] Could Jacques Attali's resignation and the attacks being directed at the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] facilitate Miklos Nemeth's decision?

[Horn] I cannot evaluate this, because I do not know the real situation prevailing within the bank. All I know is that, ever since its inception, this bank has constantly been attacked both from the East and from the founding

banks too. Attali represented France in this bank and, in my opinion, his resignation does not mean the dismemberment of the EBRD.

[Tanacs] Can you envisage cooperation between the MSZP and the new Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] cleansed of its extreme right wing?

[Horn] Cooperation will not be decided on whether the MDF cleanses itself; cooperation will depend on whether the MDF is able to change its policy and style. Cooperation is also unimaginable with the present "cleansed" MDF, if it does not change its policy and style.

[Tanacs] Can you imagine such a change if the style is the man, and the man is Jozsef Antall?

[Horn] They should change their arrogant and rebuking style. They are not open to society and they are not open for a dialogue with the people; nor do they want a genuine dialogue with the opposition parties in Parliament. If anyone has caused me great disappointment, it is the MDF leadership. They did not take up the prevailing defamatory style even at the end of 1989 and the beginning of 1990, but they tried to deal with genuine issues. Later, however, their ideological efforts came to the fore, and it transpired that these gentlemen had ideas of a modern Hungary totally different from ours and, in my opinion, those of the majority in our society. I myself voted in favor of the MDF program in 1990. However, they did things differently from what they had declared and promised.

[Tanacs] Representatives of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] are particularly strong in declaring that the liberal alternative is an election choice against both "discredited" trends: the MSZP and the current government coalition.

[Horn] I do not predict a great future for liberalism in this region, and the election results in other countries in the region support my opinion. I still do not see clearly what the liberal parties in Hungary want to do in the economic and social spheres. I must add that, in Parliament, I see social sensitivity in most representatives of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], but less so among the FIDESZ representatives. However, regarding human rights, there is no difference between the left-wing and the liberals. It is no accident that, both in Parliament and outside Parliament, we vote and declare the same, without any preliminary consultation.

[Tanacs] In your opinion, to what extent has the MDF taken over the public service media, and how can it make use of it in the election campaign?

[Horn] If I am correct, basic distortions did not take place on Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television after the fall of the media bill. I do not expect great changes to take place this summer either. The big question is what will happen at these two institutions by this autumn. I hear from some government representatives that they would like to take over the radio and television by this autumn. If they do this, a boomerang effect will take place. At the time, no matter what radio and television were saying, people voted differently from what they were being told. I also think that the government needs an agreement on how the opposition can speak on radio and television. If they take the rules of democracy seriously, they cannot make big changes here.

Solidarity Deputies Will Not Join Political Party

LD0607213793 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Candidates for deputies on the Solidarity Union's ticket cannot be members of any political party and must give a signed undertaking that they will obey the parliamentary floor group's rules of cooperation with the union's authorities. This was decided at the Solidarity National Commission meeting, which is being held in Lodz.

The Union's deputies will also not be able to join any political organization after being elected to the Sejm or during its term.

Recent electricity price rises have also been criticized. Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski stated that in talks between the Union and the president it was established that the price rises will be postponed, but this did not happen. "We are expecting an explanation by the government," Krzaklewski said.

Solidarity Leader Outlines Election Aims

AU0607172893 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 2 Jul 93

[Interview with Marian Krzaklewski, chairman of "Solidarity," by Tomasz Sypniewski in Zielona Gora on 27 June: "An Attack From All Sides"]

[Text] [Sypniewski] The "Solidarity" congress, which is taking place at such a difficult time for Poland, must send a clear signal to trade unionists and union sympathizers....

[Krzaklewski] A signal of that kind is undoubtedly the appeal issued by the National Congress of "Solidarity" Delegates, which clearly assesses the situation and describes the dangers that can thwart the completion of the "Solidarity" revolution. The revolution was to change the totalitarian system into an economically efficient one, in which employees and employee families would enjoy sovereignty in a new political reality. In the appeal, we state clearly that a threat is posed by people connected to and sympathizers of the old system, who have already created the foundations of an oligarchic system, in which a small part of society governs and is very wealthy and the overwhelming majority is poor and has nothing to say. We believe that one has to vote against that. What the union offers is the following: We will defend employees rights, we will fight to improve conditions for those who are poorest, but the union's main goal is to create legal provisions laws regulating relations between the employer and the employee and more generally, between the citizen and the state. During our previous conversation, I told you that on this occasion, we are going into elections for the last time. I must qualify that today. These will be the last elections unless this parliament also fails to pass a constitution and does not guarantee employees' rights and a new social contract.

[Sypniewski] You said that you will be pleased if the union gets 7 to 8 percent in the upcoming elections, but you will not be worried if it gets 5 percent. Would you not be concerned that "Solidarity" might fail to win the support of a majority of society?

[Krzaklewski] It is better to be modest in one's forecasts than to create a mood of euphoria....

[Sypniewski] So those assessments stem from modesty?

[Krzaklewski] Yes, because our campaign is to be about substantive issues and not about stirring up feelings. We want to tell both union members and employees who are not in the union that even if they belong to a party, they should vote for the union on this occasion. If they do not, in a few months their rights might be significantly curtailed, especially as there are many loopholes in labor legislation. If the union were not in parliament, then it would have to resolve these issues using other, nonparliamentary methods. Such a course would be very time-consuming, less effective, and usually involves high social costs, if only those resulting from strikes.

[Sypniewski] Let us be more precise about it: In what way is what is being offered by the union better than what is being offered by the parties, all of which obviously adore working people before elections?

[Krzaklewski] Our goal is not to gain power for a group of people or some particular setup. We want to work out rights that will guarantee our members, employees, and the citizens of our country in general that the reforms that "Solidarity" pointed to in 1980 will be continued and to provide assurances at the same time, in fact immediately, for the future of employees and their families, so that the period of transformation involves as little pain as possible. It is important that the battle for power between political groups should not impact on employee and civil rights in Poland.

[Sypniewski] Recently, the press, radio, and television have been saying that Jankowski [head of Solidarity in Mazowsze region] is a bolshevik and you are described as a radical. So what would you say about Zygmunt Wrzodak?

[Krzaklewski] If someone in today's Poland demands rights, ones that are natural all over the world, he is called a radical and revolutionary by those who want to preserve the current setup, because it benefits them. I have to speak to Zygmunt Wrzodak personally, because there are certain things that I do not understand. Some of his statements hurt me personally.

[Sypniewski] In one interview Wrzodak called you a unionist.

[Krzaklewski] Exactly! What I have heard so far is that I am too right-wing to be a trade unionist, which I think is untrue, and now I am suddenly called a unionist. I think that bandying around epithets in public is something that should not take place in a union.

[Sypniewski] A few days ago, I heard that union activists are grouping together around [Wojciech] Arkuszewski, [Jan] Rulewski, and [Bogdan] Borusewicz [Solidarity parliamentary deputies], and they will back the Democratic Union. Then, I heard that the union would join the right. Finally, I heard that the union would be a cornerstone of the BBWR [Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms].

[Krzaklewski] These attacks, the attempts to compromise the union only show that the parties are afraid of "Solidarity." They could not pick up the union's electorate, to exploit "Solidarity" for their own ends, so they are attacking us now.

The union gives the politicians a guilty conscience, but it is also a real force that can upset their designs, oversee what they are doing, and exercise a controlling function.

[Sypniewski] How do you assess the chances—in the longer term—of those parties that would like to eliminate unions from public life?

[Krzaklewski] I am sure that pursuing such a course will be the downfall of those parties. Above all, it will be an enormous danger for Poland. It is strange that lockouts and other measures are being discussed by parties that know that even in those countries with conservative, liberal governments, relations between employers and unions are much better than in Poland. In those countries, unions have an incomparably greater role than in our country. The model that has been created is of a consultative, free-market-corporation society. What we want to create today is a free market-Solidarity model of the state, in which the union would guarantee dialogue between society and the authorities. It would be a guarantor of rights and would defend the ideals of social solidarity.

[Sypniewski] Will some parties be treated by the union as parties that are, let us say, close to it in terms of programs and ideology?

[Krzaklewski] The center-right have reservations similar to ours about the implementation and direction of the reforms, but they have not formulated their own economic programs. However, they may become allies if they agree that a certain amount of state interventionism is needed during a period of transformation. Incidentally, this is not a question of what we are seeking today, the efforts to concentrate power in the hands of one group, one party.

[Sypniewski] What is currently happening is that those parties that are going over from power into the opposition are changing their attitude toward "Solidarity."

[Krzaklewski] What we are interested in are concrete statements on how a given party sees the union's role in the reform process and what its attitude is toward our position on employee and civil rights. In saying that we want concrete statements, we do not mean solutions that have already been tested—we agree to accept proposals on legislation whose final effect will be visible after a longer period of time. However, what we are concerned about are solutions in which the union has a clearly defined role.

[Sypniewski] Can you reveal to us what the "Solidarity" election slogan will be?

[Krzaklewski] We are not slogan specialists, but we would like people to remember that we want to complete what seized the feelings of the Poles in 1980, the "Solidarity" revolution.

ZChN To Submit Electoral Lists

LD0707105193 Warsaw PAP in English 1010 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 7—The political committee of the Christian National Union (ZCHN) decided on Tuesday [6 July] that in the forthcoming parliamentary elections the party would submit its own lists for all electoral districts and is willing to put on these lists also non-party persons and members of other parties which have similar ideas and programme, chairman of the ZCHN Wieslaw Chrzanowski has announced.

In a communique issued on Wednesday the committee expressed regret that the attempts to form a broad coalition with peasant and national parties had failed. The reason for this failure were differences between some political groupings. In this situation the committee preferred to submit its own lists and preserve its ideological identity rather than to form a narrow coalition.

Olszewski's Party Establishes Election Committee

AU0707090493 Warsaw PAP in English 2130 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—The Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) and seven other parties which recently withdrew from the centre-right "Polish Unity" election coalition, today formed a new coalition called "The Electorate's Committee—Coalition for the Republic of Poland", chaired by RDR leader Jan Olszewski.

The decision followed disagreement among "Polish Unity" over the announcement on Saturday [4 July] of the formation of a joint election committee without consultation with the RDR.

Also on Tuesday, the central party court of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) expelled from the party Piotr Ikonowicz, the up-till-now PPS chairman, following disagreement over Ikonowicz's decision that the PPS should stand for the elections on the lists of the postcommunist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD).

According to the chairman of the National Election Committee of the PPS, Mariusz Ratajczak, Ikonowicz did not comply with the decision of the PPS Main Council which resolved not to form a coalition with postcommunists.

The provincial electoral staff of the SLD in Lublin approved a list of SLD candidates for parliament. Piotr Ikonowicz and Izabela Sierakowska, vice-chairwoman of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP), the main member of the SLD, top the list for the Sejm (lower house).

The National Commission of the "Solidarity" trade union resolved in Lodz that candidates standing elections on the "Solidarity" ticket must not be members of any political parties and would be required to make written declaration of "subordination to the regulation of cooperation between the (Solidarity) parliamentary caucus and the union authorities".

Four Parties Form Joint Electoral Committee

LD0607185593 Warsaw PAP in English 1807 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—The Party of Christian Democrats (PCHD), the Conservative Party (PK), the Peasant-Christian Party (SLCH) together with the Federation of Polish Entrepreneurship (FPP, the former Christian Labour Party) have decided to form a joint electoral committee on Tuesday [6 July].

In a statement released following today's decision, the parties said they would try to gain the support of all those citizens who approach patriotic and Christian values with due respect and speak in favour of an efficient market economy and the Polish reason of state.

The parties stressed in their statement that they are ready to cooperate with parties being guided by similar programmatic principles.

Parties Form New 'Coalition for the Republic'

LD0607215493 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1600 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] A Coalition for the Republic was formed today in Warsaw. It was formed by the Movement for the Republic, the Pilsudski's Soldiers Association, the Polish Democracy Party, the Christian-Democratic Peasant Forum, and the National Party of the Unemployed.

Farmers' Union Collects Election Signatures

AU0707113093 Warsaw PAP in English 1922 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—The National Electoral Committee of the "Samoobrona" (Self-Defence) Farmers' Union, led by Andrzej Lepper, has collected 230,000 signatures under the lists of candidates for members of the parliament. "In 22 districts we have already collected all signatures," Lepper said.

He denied that "Samoobrona" could join the Non-Party Reform Bloc because the members of this bloc would continue the policy of the past three years that has led to the impoverishment of the population. Lepper said "Samoobrona" would not form coalitions in elections to the Sejm (the lower house) but he stressed that the union could form "some" coalition in the elections to the Senate (the upper house).

According to Lepper, the "Samoobrona" programme can be summarized in slogans: "The road for Poland is the third road" and "the situation can and therefore must improve." The union's main motto is "human being to whom we give priority over work and we put work before money."

An effective struggle against unemployment and the creation of new jobs, repaying the debts of state enterprises and the status of farmers rank among "Samoobrona's" important goals. The union comes out for equal treatment of all economic entities in tax policy. It opts for social security and restoring benefits to these jobless who really need them.

Warsaw Entrepeneurs Congress Joins BBWR

LD0507150393 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] The Warsaw Congress of Polish Entrepreneurs has announced that it is joining the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR]. The delegates have also come out in favor of the speediest possible introduction of the Charter of Economic Principles—elaborated by the Council for Economic Development attached to the president.

The Congress participants expressed their disquiet at the slowing down of the process of economic changes.

President Lech Walesa, who was present at the Congress, called on the businessmen not to be passive and to try and take over control of the economy from the hands of the administration. I have not come to entice you into the BBWR but private enterpreneurs in parliament will be able to resolve your problems, the president told those gathered at the Congress.

Economic Situation Before VAT Reported

WS0607071193 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Jun 93 p 6

[Report by Antoni Kowalik: "Central Office of Statistics on Economy in May; Marked by VAT"]

[Text] The tax reform and the plan to introduce the VAT [value-added tax] have already caused some changes in the May economic results. This can be seen most clearly in construction-assembly production, which increased, compared to April, by 12.3 percent and, compared to May, by 18.8 percent. It can also be noticed in the increased sales by retailers and the decrease of cash in circulation. This is probably an escape from worsening sale conditions which may be caused by VAT. The construction-assembly production sector has so far been exempt from the turnover tax.

Industry and Construction

According to the data published by GUS [Central Office of Statistics], the growth tendency in industry was maintained in May. The production level does not differ from the level observed in April; however, in May this kind of production usually drops in relation to the previous month. Now it is 14 percent higher than a year ago. After correcting this indicator by taking into account differences resulting from the hours worked as well as seasonal factors, average production has, for the first time in two years, returned to the 1990 level. In the five-month period, the level of industrial production sold was up 8.8 percent compared with the same period last year.

In 19 out of 23 industrial branches, there was growth in production. The greatest growth was observed in the transport industry—51.5 percent. This is a result of greater sales in the ship building industry, which doubled, and in the car industry, mainly due to sales of the Cinquecento. These sales greatly influenced the monthly results of the entire industry. Moreover, production sold in the precision, electrotechnical, electric, and chemical industries increased by 20 percent. In the chemical industry, such branches as gum, plastics, and pharmaceuticals achieved better results. An increase was also observed in the production of fuels, building materials, and ceramics, as well as in the food, machine-building, and clothing industries. In four branches there was a decrease: the nonferrous metals, leather, coal, and power industries.

The above-mentioned high growth rate in construction-assembly production between January and May was 3.8 percent higher than it was during the same period last year. This does not apply to the results of apartment building. In May the percentage of apartments built was lower than in April and lower than during the same period last year. From January to May, 30,100 apartments were built, which is 48.5 percent lower than during the same period last year. Housing societies, towns, and industrial plants began the construction of 1,600 apartments in May, which is 45.5 percent lower than a year ago. This means a substantial decrease in the number of apartments under construction.

Even though production growth in May was confirmed by the improved financial conditions of companies, the net financial result is still negative; 1.3 trillion zlotys this year compared to 5.6 trillion zlotys last year. Profitability also improved. It amounts to 3.5 percent, whereas after the first four months of last year it was 3.4 percent. Profitability in industry is 4.1 percent. The loss in every 1,000 zlotys dropped from 11 to 2 zlotys. The percentage of unprofitable companies and the reserves are smaller. Financial resources of companies increased.

Prices

The price increase in May was lower than in the previous month. The prices of industrial production rose by 1.8 percent (in April by 2.1 percent); the prices of goods and consumer services also rose by 1.8 percent (in April by 3.3 percent). In comparison with last December, the prices of consumer goods in May were 14.5 percent higher: the prices of food 11.1 percent higher, nonfood goods 14.2 percent, services 19.6 percent. In comparison with the same period last year, prices in May were 35.8 percent higher, while in the period between January and May they were 38.1 percent higher. The increase in consumer prices was largely affected by a three percent increase in the prices of services (in comparison with April) and a 2.1 percent increase in the prices of nonfood goods, which was caused by subsequent increases in the prices of power, hot water, gasoline and gasoil.

Money

Despite a slower rate of consumer prices growth, real wages decreased in May. The average nominal gross monthly wage in companies dropped 2.6 percent in April, which, in turn, was affected by smaller payments on profits. The average real gross wage in companies in May was 4.3 percent smaller than a year ago.

In May, for the first time since March last year, the statistics recorded a smaller amount of cash in circulation as well as a very small increase in people's savings. This is a consequence of increasing retail sales of goods. Traditionally, retail sales decrease after the spring and Easter shopping sprees. At the moment they are still increasing, most probably due to the impending VAT.

The Budget

The May receipts of the state budget came to 36.6 trillion zlotys, whereas the outlays amounted to 38.3 trillion zlotys. After five months, the budget deficit has increased and now equals 21.2 trillion zlotys, which is 26.2 percent of the deficit that was planned in the budget law.

National Bank President Rejects Devaluation

LD0507163493 Warsaw PAP in English 1547 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—Currency devaluation is not an instrument of policy to be adopted at the first moment the country's balance of trade slips into deficit, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, president of the National Bank of Poland (NBP), told a press conference in Warsaw on Monday [5 July].

Rejecting the idea of devaluation as a means of resolving Poland's growing trade imbalance, Ms. Gronkiewicz-Waltz said that there are other means of building up Poland's exports and investments, including taxation policy. Nevertheless, she did not rule out the possibility of a currency devaluation in a difficult situation.

Commenting on the possible redenomination of the Polish currency, Ms. Gronkiewicz-Waltz said that it was in everyone's interests for this to be achieved as soon as

possible, for example from January 1, 1994. The parliamentary bill to implement this, together with the relevant executive orders, were completed some time ago, she noted.

Stock Exchange Proposes Changes to Privatization

LD0507193493 Warsaw PAP in English 1753 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—The board of the Polish Stock Exchange has forwarded to the Finance and Privatisation Ministries three possible variations to the procedure for the public sale of privatisation issues, Stock Exchange President Wieslaw Rozlucki announced on Monday.

The move follows widespread criticism of the procedure for the sale of shares in the most recent privatisations, where there were allegations of improper queue-jumping, and in some cases the use of force, when the sale of shares began at the issuing banks.

In its most favoured proposal, the exchange suggests that applicants for privatisation issues should state in advance how many shares they wish to purchase, at a fixed price. Applications would be scaled down in the event of over-subscription. According to Rozlucki, this method would be the most advantageous for smaller investors.

In the other variants, prices would either be fixed in accordance with orders received by brokers offices, or would be issued through the stock market on a tender basis. Rozlucki added that there should be action to ensure that shares are quoted on the market as soon as possible after sale, possibly within two weeks. This compares with a delay of at least a month, and in some cases more, between sale and quotation under the existing system.

According to Rozlucki, the aim of the proposals is to defend the interests of small investors who, "frightened by the brutal fight for a place in the queue," have decided not to participate in share offerings. He added that in no country other than Poland did the principle "first is best" apply, in the purchase of shares.

Lodz Railroad Workers Cancel Planned Strike

LD0607182193 Warsaw PAP in English 1756 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Lodz, July 6—The Solidarity Interfactory Strike Committee at the Lodz branch of the Polish State Railways (PKP) cancelled a planned regional strike and decided to dissolve itself, Chairman of the committee Adam Bowdziej announced on Tuesday [6 July].

The decision followed hours of negotiations with representatives of PKP's central district which ended with the signing of an agreement satisfying Lodz railwaymen.

The PKP representatives agreed not to dismiss from work any of the workers from the power supply department nor from the newly created department in Slotwiny within the next 18 months, Bowdziej said.

Skubiszewski Holds Talks With Danish Minister

LD0607121693 Warsaw PAP in English 1133 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—Polish-Danish cooperation is very important for Poland's economic relations with European structures, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said on Tuesday [6 July] after a meeting with his Danish counterpart Niels Petersson.

According to Skubiszewski, relations between the two countries, particularly the economic ones, are good.

The talks with the Danish foreign minister focused on opportunities for Poland to consolidate contacts with the countries of the European Communities, especially now, after the E.C. summit in Copenhagen.

During the meeting the two ministers touched upon their countries relations with Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. They also discussed the proposal of the French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur to create a pact of European stabilisation. Skubiszewski stressed that he and his guest shared similar opinions on the matter.

Skubiszewski Views Talks

LD0607165393 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Krzysztof Skubiszewski, head of our diplomatic corps, has held talks at the Foreign Ministry with Danish Foreign Minister Niels Petersson. After the meeting Skubiszewski said:

[Begin recording] We did not focus on bilateral matters today; they are developing well, particularly economic cooperation. We talked about the outcome of the Copenhagen summit, which I assess as good for Poland, because the summit adopted, with one or two small exceptions concerning details, all the demands put forward by commissions and concerning relations between Poland and the [European] Community. We must use this opportunity. The opportunities are great.

We also discussed the French plan, which was presented in Copenhagen, on signing a European stabilization pact. To a large extent we have a common assessment of this plan, and intend to do further work on it.

We also talked about relations with Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus—that is the eastern policy—a whole range of issues concerning eastern [European] countries, so that their results are beneficial for the whole of Europe. [end recording]

Iliescu Calls on G-7 Leaders To Help Nation

AU0707112493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] On the occasion of the Tokyo summit, Romanian President Ion Iliescu sent a message to the Japanese prime minister in his capacity of acting president of the G-7.

As the spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs specified at his weekly news conference, the message presents Romania's progress achieved over the past three years on the road to strengthening democracy and proceeding to the market economy. It emphasizes the particular difficulties encountered by the Romanian economy following a series of external shocks: the Gulf War and the embargo imposed by the United Nations against Iraq, sanctions against Libya, as well as the conflict in former Yugoslavia and the embargo applied against Serbia and Montenegro.

Bearing in mind that the tremendous damage caused to Romania by the respective measures have increased the difficulties, which are inherent to the transition to a market economy, the message requests greater assistance on behalf of the G-7 member states, so that Romania may overcome these difficulties and give an impetus to economic reform.

Austrian Defense Minister Meets With Vacaroiu

AU0707113293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0716 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/7/1993—"I am in Romania for a swap of experience and information considering our common geographic position and the openness operated in European policy," the Austrian minister of defense, Werner Fasslabend, told Romania's premier, [Nicolae Vacaroiu], at a July 6 interview at the Victory Palace. He opined that everything was favouring the cooperation between Romania and Austria and mentioned that agreements between the two countries were in force at all levels, but they had to be amended and set in concord with the present ties. The situation in the Balkans was equally discussed as well as the negative influence of the Yugoslav conflict on the economic relations of the countries in the area.

Discusses Cooperation With Iliescu

AU0607200293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1719 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/7/1993—"Romania and Austria are linked by the Danube and share many other things and, if we will collaborate, we will surely share the same future", said Werner Fasslabend, federal minister of defense of Austria, on July 6, after his interview with president Ion Iliescu.

The dialogue at Cotroceni, appreciated by the guest as "very interesting" focused on singling out new cooperation opportunities in the political, economic and security domains. "It is important that we should see what brings us together not what divides us," Minister Fasslabend said. "We should be active factors of peace in this continent the originality of which is the diversity of nationalities and cultures."

Government Declaration Rejects Opposition's Attack

AU0507131493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0904 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/7/1993—The Romanian Government released a declaration in Bucharest in reply of defamatory attacks the opposition recently launched on the government and some of its members.

The present governmental team, installed in November 1992, assumed the responsibility to continue the reform in a very difficult period, characterized by a slump in production, a virtual lack of foreign financial resources, of fuel, wheat and basic foods, by soaring inflation, flaws in enforcing the legislation, significant corruption and fiscal evasion cases. Despite declarations, opposition parties launched direct actions and attacks against the government, making use of all kinds of means to disparage it, that, in certain cases went beyond the political fighting proper to a democratic country.

The shortage of bills was incriminated although the government drafted and forwarded to parliament more than 95 bills, most of them in fields important for the reform. The opposition called a motion of censure against the governing programme, which was nevertheless considered in the country and abroad as a first document of a programme for economic reform. Taking advantage of a number of measures included in the reform programme—the removal of subsidies for basic foods and services, the introduction of the value-added tax—opposition forces staged actions intended to cause distrust and social tension with a view to force a change of government. To top it all, an attempt was made to force the calling of an extraordinary session of parliament, not for the continuation of debates on bills very important for the reform, but in order to debate a preliminary report of a parliamentary commission whose conclusions, provisional as they are, do not confirm and do not substantiate the accusations of corruption made against member of the executive.

Politicians from opposition parties made defamatory allegations on the occasion of visits abroad on the government's activity, going counter to Romania's realities and interests.

Groundless, ill-meaning and disparaging accusations were made to members of the government, to divert the attention of the public opinion from real corruption acts committed in this transition period, most of them under penal inquiry now.

Despite all this, the government took action to fulfill the objectives in the governing programme passed by parliament, and got a number of results that cannot be denied, such as:

—the supply of fuel, wheat for bread and basic foods in (the 1992) winter, when the shortage of foreign financial resources was acute;

—the stopping of the decline of the industrial output and moreover industrial growth a few months running, creating conditions for the relaunching of the economy;

—a boost to agriculture by measures such as an increase in the areas on which grain was sown, supply of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, insecticides, irrigation networks made operational on 2 million ha. The 1993 agricultural production is expected to exceed by 15 percent that of last year so that wheat imports will no longer be necessary, for which important hard currency funds were spent in 1991 and 1992;

—the removal of subsidies for foods and services starting May 1, together with measures to adjust population incomes. A mention is worth making that during the whole period social security measures have been taken, such as money handouts, indexations of salaries, pensions, other incomes. Solutions were found together with trade unions to use financial resources in such a way as to minimize negative effects on the living standards;

—the conclusion for the first time of a single collective bargaining contract at a national level;

—the introduction, in keeping with the schedule, of the value-added tax, starting July 1, 1993.

—a first phase of industrial relaunching at the level of units, consisting in the supervision of a number of commercial companies;

—the tripling of the pace of granting land title deeds;

—economic stabilization and even a slight reduction of unemployment;

—the signing of the agreement for Romania's association to the European Community and EFTA [European Free Trade Association];

—a reduction of the trade deficit over the first five months of 1993, as against the similar period of 1991;

—large-scale actions of combating corruption and fiscal evasion;

—the finalization of the reform in the field of justice on July 1, 1993.

Besides these actions, that have been achieved, all of them, in the conditions of internal stability, the government took intense actions abroad, alongside the other public bodies, putting in place premises for Romania's admission as a full member of the Council of Europe and its granting of the most-favored-nation status by the United States.

Romania has increasingly gained recognition as a domestically stable country, contributing to peace and stability in the Balkans and Europe.

The government's declaration points out that Romania is crossing a difficult period, with negative effects on the people's lives but decisive for the promotion of the reform and the revival of the economy, asking for concerted efforts by all political and social forces, understanding and support from the citizens of Romania, continuity in applying the reform and taking necessary measures to overcome these difficulties. The declaration states that there is no other way to overcome these difficulties, irrespective of the government.

The declaration mentions that the members of the government do not eschew responsibility and are ready to give full transparence to their activity and conduct. The government launches an appeal that the whole political dispute, normal under a democratic rule, to be made in a civilized manner, of mutual esteem and respect, in order not to affect the joint efforts necessary to pass through this hard period.

Liberal Party Merges With Civic Liberal Group

AU0307180893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 3 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/7/1993—The political merger of the Liberal Party 1993 and the Civic Liberal Group took place on Saturday, July 3, during the proceedings of the National Council of the Liberal Party '93. Six former members of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], including pianist Dan Grigore, became members of the Liberal Party '93 Steering Committee.

The purpose of this merger is a higher one, said Alexandru Popovici, former vice-president of the Civic Alliance Party, namely to create a big and powerful liberal movement. Showing that from a legal viewpoint the merger did not exist, he mentioned that every individual member of the Civic Liberal Group "resigns from the PAC and joins the Liberal Party 1993." Also, criticizing the PAC leadership for "political immobility," he asked that a contradictory dialogue with it should however not be started and the gate "should remain open."

Minister Details Import-Export Activities

AU0707111793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0812 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/7/1993— "A 100 million dollars reduction in Romania's foreign trade over the first five months of 1993 is a step forward," said Commerce Minister Constantin Teculescu in an interview with the daily ADEVARUL. "Although the export on the said period stood at about 19 percent of the industrial production, which is an important increase as

against last year's, it was, nevertheless, 5.8 percent lower than that of 1992," added the interviewee. He mentioned some other positive tendencies, such as an increase in the demand of goods to be exported, proving that the Romanian industry continues to be competitive. Secondly, an increase of consumer goods in the total volume of the export, put at around 30 percent this year as against 25 percent last year. That stands proof to the relaunching of Romanian public and private agents on the international market. Another good thing is, in the opinion of Minister Teculescu, a drop in the volume of exports aimed to compensate for imports from 32.1 percent last year to 21.4 percent this year. Such exports were made in order to bring in raw materials and consumer goods in certain cases.

Constantin Teculescu showed that, at the request of the Ministry of Commerce, 15 billion lei were earmarked in the 1993 budget for the stimulation of exports, to be used through Eximbank for the "stabilisation" of the interest rate of the credits to be granted by banks for export activities, that is to cover part of the interests. Five billion lei of the 1993 budget were destined to guarantee in the name of the state export credits against political risks, mentioned the commerce minister.

Government Decides on Pension Increase

AU0507131793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0901 GMT 5 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/7/1993—The Friday [2 July] meeting of Romania's Government decided to increase all categories of pensions, additional ones included. Pensions will rise by 18 per cent, differentiated on several categories, while social security pensions for age limit and full length of service will face an increase by 20 per cent.

Additional pensions will receive an extra 1,500 lei. The new system of pensions will enter into force on 1 August 1993. The measure will apply also to other categories of pensions included in the social assistance budget—Orthodox Church, farm and handicraft cooperation workers, the staff in the Writers' Union, plastic artists, and composers. At national level, the average pensions will increase by an average 4,118 lei; pensions for age limit and full length of service will rise to an average 5,588 lei, which does not include the extra 1,500 lei for additional pensions.

Due to these measures the state budget for pensions will go up by 70 billion lei for pensions and by 22 billion lei for additional pensions.

Three Die in Heavy Water Plant Accident

AU0607160493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] The Ministry of Industries, General Directorate of Public Relations, half an hour ago issued the following communique:

Today, three people died and one was hospitalized in critical condition, when at around 0930 [0630 GMT] an accident occurred at the Romag Heavy Water Plant in Drobeta-Turnu Severin.

The accident occurred while a receptacle for ordinary nitrogen samples was being tightened. The receptacle never contained any hydrogen sulfide; thus in no way could any of it escape into the air.

The RENEL [Romanian National Electricity Network Corporation] advised that an investigation commission should urgently go to the plant and determine the cause and culpability leading to this accident. The result of the examination will be published at a later date, reads the communique signed by General Director Cornel Florea.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 7 July

WA0707172793

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Bosnian Presidency members meet to discuss draft of peace proposal ... Croatia, Krajina Serbs resume peace talks ... Serbian opposition leader Draskovic's health deteriorating ... Croatian daily contends supporters of Bosnian President Izetbegovic planning assassination of Presidency member Abdic.

POLITICAL

PRESIDENCY TO DISCUSS PROPOSAL (AFP): Three members of the Bosnian Presidency meet with President Izetbegovic to discuss their draft of a proposal to end the war in Bosnia. Izetbegovic suggests that the plan will not involve partitioning the country, saying that it stresses Bosnia's "sovereignty and territorial integrity." (AU0707102893)

CROATS, KRAJINA SERBS RESUME TALKS (TANJUG): Representatives of the Croatian Government and the Krajina Serbian minority resume talks on ending fighting in Croatia. Krajina officials say they will demand that Krajina territory taken by Croatian forces during a January offensive be placed under the jurisdiction of the Serbs rather than under UN protection. (LD0707123493)

DRASKOVIC'S HEALTH DETERIORATING (TANJUG): Doctors for imprisoned Serbian opposition leader Draskovic, who was reportedly beaten during and after his arrest on 1 June, say that his health is "deteriorating further" due to his hunger strike, which began on 2 July. (LD0707104093)

DAILY REPORTS PLOT TO KILL ABDIC (TANJUG): The Zagreb daily VJESNIK alleges that Muslim officials "loyal to" Bosnian President Izetbegovic have planned to "assassinate" Presidency member Abdic by disguising themselves as members of UNPROFOR. Abdic and Izetbegovic have reportedly clashed over Abdic's willingness to accept a plan to partition Bosnia into three ethnic units. (LD0707124593)

COUNCIL ASKED TO END HUNGER STRIKE (Sarajevo Radio): The Bosnian Presidency urges the Sarajevo City Council to end their hunger strike "immediately," saying that the city "needs a leadership capable of functioning." (AU0707144793)

Collective Presidency To Discuss Peace Proposals

AU0707102893 Paris AFP in English 0956 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] Sarajevo, July 7 (AFP)—Members of Bosnia's collective presidency will meet here Wednesday to discuss their own proposals on the future shape of the war-torn republic.

The meeting, one of several expected this week, will not include all 10 members of the presidency. Those attending, including Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, will examine a report prepared by a working group set up when the full presidency last met on June 29.

The working group is made up of three members of the presidency—Vice-President Ejup Ganic, a Moslem, Miro Lasic, a Croat, and Miro Lasovic, the speaker of the Bosnian parliament.

The presidency decided to draw up its own proposals on ending the 16-month war in Bosnia, to counter a Serb-Croat plan to carve the republic into three ethnic mini-states.

An Izetbegovic advisor said the trio would be presenting several ideas at Wednesday's meeting. He would not provide any details except to say that all the ideas stress the importance of maintaining Bosnia's sovereignty and its territorial integrity.

But several members of the presidency have previously been supportive of an ethnic carve-up of Bosnia. Lasic, for one, has been ambiguous on what he favors.

He recently told the Vatican's special envoy Monsignor Francisco Montarisi, that he wants to maintain Bosnia's territorial integrity, a statement that contradicts his earlier comment supporting constitutional changes to divide Bosnia into three "republics or provinces."

Ganic, like Izetbegovic and Bosnian army chief Rasim Delic, also a member of the presidency, is opposed to the idea of three ethnic states loosely linked in a confederation, as proposed by the Serb- Croat plan. That plan was discussed last month in Geneva during talks brokered by international mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

"All we have to do is to resist," Ganic said recently, referring to the confederation plan.

Meanwhile Owen and Stoltenberg were expected in Zagreb Wednesday for talks with Croat leaders on the worsening situation in Bosnia.

The "deterioration of the situation on the ground" was such that the mediators could wait no longer, a spokesman for the two diplomats said Tuesday. "They need to become involved directly and talk with the leaders that have influence on the ground," said spokesman John Mills.

Assassination of Moderate Muslim Leader Abdic Planned

LD0707124593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1224 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] Zagreb, July 7 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem officials loyal to their radical leader Alija Izetbegovic have planned to assassinate Fikret Abdic, leader of the moderate Moslem faction in the rump Presidency of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, writes the Zagreb daily VJESNIK. Some ten days ago, Abdic openly confronted with Izetbegovic at a session of the rump Bosnian Presidency (which includes no representatives of the Bosnian Serbs) over the Serb-Croat proposal for Bosnia to become a confederation of three small states (Moslem, Serb and Croat).

Abdic then strongly criticized Izetbegovic, who wanted the proposal to be rejected and the Moslem side to remain firm in the stand that Bosnia should be a unitary state dominated by its most populous ethnic group, the Moslems.

The plan for Abdic's assassination was worked out by Izetbegovic's adviser and security chief in the Bosnian Moslem Army Fikret Muslimovic and the operation, named "Efendija," was entrusted to Moslem police chief Bakir Alispahic, says VJESNIK. The Sarajevo police anti-terrorist group Lasta, which was to carry out the operation, attempted twice to infiltrate in Velika Kladusa, a town in north-western Bosnia-Herzegovina where Abdic lives, but failed on both occasions, writes the paper. VJESNIK adds that it was then decided that Abdic be liquidated during his stay in Sarajevo by men disguised as members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

One UNPROFOR vehicle was obtained for this purpose as well as 12 uniforms, arms and ammunition used by UNPROFOR, says the paper. The plan was discovered and revealed in public by the Bosnian Croat Army security service, says the paper.

Abdic has recently said he would not attend Presidency sessions in Sarajevo because he did not feel safe there.

Karadzic on Talks Between Two Serb Republics

LD0607191593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], said at a news conference in Banja Luka today that he discussed with representatives of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK—in Croatia] in Topusko the linking of the economy, the health service, education, and the information system and the adjustment of the legal systems of the two Serb republics.

He said: These issues are "the essence of the unification which no one can hold against us. It is thought that this is much better than going for declarative acts concerning unification."

According to Karadzic, in this period priority will be given to peaceful negotiating processes between the Serb republic and the Croats and Muslims [in Bosnia], and between the RSK and the Croats.

"I believe the RSK and the Republic of Croatia will approach all disputed issues, primarily the economic ones, but also the military issues concerning the demarcation on which lasting peace depends."

"We in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and they in the RSK want to draw the border of the Serb land, and to achieve this by peaceful means so that no more people die for it. We agree that negotiations should be speeded up because our further actions concerning the implementation of the referenda on unification will depend on this," Karadzic said.

Explaining the process of negotiations between the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said "the Muslim side is buying time from the international community in order to form a new platform. They actually counted on a considerable expansion of territory at the expense of the Croats in central Bosnia, but it seems the fortunes of war have turned their back on them."

At the same time, Karadzic denied claims that the Serbs are acting in cooperation with the Croats against the Muslims. He said: "We only help the Croats—not only their civilians, but also their military units—to ensure they are not annihilated. We would do the same for the Muslims if they found themselves in the same situation and if they asked us to do it. The only exception would be mujahedin, of course, because they are mercenaries who are not protected by any law in the world."

He hopes the international community will very soon force the Muslim side to voice its final answer—to say whether it is for peace or war.

"If the Muslims opt for war, Radovan Karadzic continued, we are not going to leave them at peace at any front line; hence, we must disable and defeat them. If, on the other hand, they opt for peace, we are willing to secure a habitat even for them within the framework of a confederal state. Otherwise, the Serbian republic will close and consolidate its borders and seek international recognition."

Asked by the press about differences in their respective approaches to the peace process between the Croats in the Republic of Croatia and the Croats in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic conceded that the Serbs in the Serbian republic have not been fighting the Croatian Defense Council for nearly four months, although Serbs are dying around Trebinje and Orasje. In his words, there is a faction in the Republic of Croatia which still dreams of a Croatia stretching to the Drina River and which does not want normalization between the Serbs and Croats in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are not aware that the Serbian people will defend themselves as a whole if the Republic of Croatia attacks the republic of Serbian Krajina, something that might spell the end of the present Croatian state.

Speaking about President Tudjman, he says that he [Tudjman] believes that he has created a Croatian state following 900 years of dreaming about it and that now is the time for negotiations. But this country's recovery is impossible unless such borders are drawn between it and the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian republic that will allow for safe tourism along the Adriatic coast. He mentioned, as one possible border arrangement with the Serbian republic, that the Croats should be given some areas in the Dubrovnik hinterland in exchange for eastern Herzegovina's access to the Adriatic coast.

Karadzic Urges Muslims To Continue Peace Talks

AU0607172693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 6 Jul 93

["Excerpts" from news conference by Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, in Banja Luka "after his visit to Topusko, where he held talks with top officials of the republic of Serbian Krajina"—recorded]

[Text] [Karadzic] We visited the republic of Serbian Krajina and (?met) a section of the political and state leadership of the republic of Serbian Krajina in Topusko. The main topic of conversation consisted of further steps and the pace of the preparatory work on the realization of the results of the unification referendum.

It appears that we will first of all go for political unification. They expressed readiness for the unification of their party, the section of the party founded by [Jovan] Raskovic. We favored a union of the Serbian democratic parties. This is also possible. We also discussed the essential links between economies, health services, (?harmonization) and linking of legal systems, then education and information dissemination systems.

These are, therefore, essential links that no one can reproach us for, links that in fact represent the essence of unification. We concluded that it would be much better to achieve full unity, (?full) unification of essentials and functions of our two republics, and that this is much better than opting for empty gestures, an empty declaration on unification.

While work is being done on this we will give priority to and invest time in the ongoing negotiations with the Muslims and Croats in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the republic of Serbian Krajina's negotiations with the Republic of Croatia.

I think the republic of Serbian Krajina will solve all contentious issues with the Republic of Croatia, especially those of an economic character, as well as those of a military character, (?the issues) concerning peace. I also think they will (?solve) the issue of unanimous delineation. We want Serbian lands in both former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia to have their borders established in a peaceful way, so that no further lives are lost.

Furthermore, we agreed that the peace processes should be speeded up. The speed of our future moves and actions in the direction initiated by the two referendums will depend on the results of the peace processes, and the results of political negotiations.

[Unidentified reporter] What do you think is the fate of negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina? The Muslim side is still not giving any serious signals that it will continue the negotiations?

[Karadzic] The Muslim side is buying time. I have heard that someone from the international community has already reproached them for that. They are buying time. They want seven to 10 days for a new platform. We can assume what it will be like. They counted on the initial military success against the Croats in central Bosnia. However, the war fortunes turned around there, and can turn around again. The accusations that we are taking part in the combat against the Muslims are not correct. We are only helping the Croats not be annihilated, especially Croat civilians, but also the military units because the animosity between them is enormous. People would not be taken prisoner, they would be annihilated. (?For this reason) we are enabling the Croat units to maneuver and get out from the encirclement and in this way save themselves from being defeated. We would do the same for the Muslims if their civilians or units were in the same situation, if they were facing defeat.

I would also like to say that we would not do the same for the Mujahedin, because they are mercenaries. They are not protected by any international laws. They would pay with their lives for having come here to kill Serbs and Croats. I heard they are even killing Muslims. I believe that the international community will soon ask the Muslim side to come up with the answer of whether it is in favor of war or peace.

If this is not done by the international community, this will be done by the Serbs. In the (?course) of the next 10 days we will demand from the international community to inform us whether the Muslims want war or peace. If they want war, we will not leave them alone on any front. We have to defeat them and prevent them from recovering and defeating us.

If they do want war, there will be no cease-fire until their total defeat. If they want peace, if they want political talks, they must immediately stop all combat activities. They must accept the talks on a confederation, that is, the three states; they must accept the talks on the creation of their own state. We are prepared to help them in this. If they do not want to accept the Serb-Croatian confederal project and this offer, the Serbian republic will close its borders, reinforce them, and seek international recognition without any territorial concessions, and absolutely within the present borders.

Presidency Asks Council To Stop Hunger Strike

AU0707144793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Today, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency called on the Sarajevo City Council to stop the hunger strike immediately. The Presidency of the country believes that the purpose of the strike has been accomplished, and that the city needs a leadership capable of functioning. [passage omitted]

Muslims Launch Attacks in Gorazde, Vitkovici Areas

LD0707103193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Bratunac, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—Muslim units from the Gorazde area have again been attacking Serb positions, TANJUG learned from the main headquarters of the Serb republic army. The latest Muslim attack—from Gorazde towards Cajnice—has been launched from the zone which was proclaimed a safe area by the UN Security Council and which should have been demilitarized a long time ago. At the same time Muslim forces have been attacking from Vitkovici towards Paljike and in the Ustipraca area. [passage omitted]

Clashes in Mostar, Kiseljak, Fojnica

LD0707120893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes from Mostar]

[Text] Weapons are quiet at present in Mostar, but this was not the case throughout last night and this morning when infantry clashes between Croatian Defense Council [HVO] forces and Muslim units were taking place in the city. The front line has remained the same. Smaller-scale infantry clashes took place in the northern suburbs. Over the last 24 hours five HVO soldiers were wounded and, according to the HVO's main headquarters, many Muslim soldiers are believed to have been killed and wounded last night.

According to this morning's reports from the HVO's central Bosnia operational group, Muslims continued their attacks on HVO positions in the areas of Kiseljak, Fojnica, and Busovaca. No major combat has been registered in the Novi Travnik area.

Mostar War Presidency Calls For Return of UNPROFOR

AU0607191793

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 6 July describes the combat situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina as follows:

An unidentified correspondent from Maglaj says that "the chetniks" and "the 111th Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have been shelling the town with antiaircraft machine guns, antiaircraft guns, and 155-mm howitzers since morning." "The chetnik and HVO infantry attacks in the region of (?Ljestice) were successfully resisted," the correspondent reports. He adds that "several civilians have been killed and injured" already and "the attacks continue as we report this." At the end the correspondent affirms that all lines of defense remain "firm and stable."

Reporting on the situation in Zavidovici, the press center of the 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports that "more than 1,000 grenades fell on civilian quarters here, residents have not left their shelters for days." It is further reported that "two civilians died and several were injured in the shelling." "The chetniks are stepping up infantry attacks on the Visoko and Kiseljak battlefields," the report continues. "All the attacks of [word indistinct] fighters in Sidrino Selo in Vitez commune have been resisted and units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are inflicting enormous loses in manpower upon them," the 3d Corps press center says.

The correspondent from Gorazde claims that last night and today the town of Gorazde itself became the target of chetnik projectiles from howitzers, tanks, guns, antiaircraft machine guns, and antiaircraft guns. He reports that "many innocent civilians have been injured last night and this morning," many of whom cannot reach Gorazde hospital but are receiving treatment in ill-equipped regional medical centers.

A dispatch by the Mostar press center reports on today's news conference by the Mostar war presidency members. The presidency members reportedly condemned "the all-out aggression of the HVO units at the town of Mostar and its residents" and stressed that "this aggression will not succeed." The latest attacks are ascribed to "the minority extremist group within the Croatian nation." The war presidency issued an appeal to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and to all international organizations to protect this "cultural heritage gem of a town," the report says. The report states that "they also issued an appeal for the return of the UN Protection Force and EC monitors." According to the report, the presidency is also appealing for assistance for "five journalists of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio" who are being kept prisoner in Heliodrome and "tried for war crimes just because they worked as journalists for a radio station of the sovereign and internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Croat-Muslim Clashes Continue in Central Bosnia

LD0607164293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 6 (TANJUG)—Fires are being set to the Moslem-controlled region of Srebrenica, eastern Bosnia, while Croat-Moslem clashes continue in central Bosnia and around Mostar in Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb military sources have reported.

The reports have been confirmed by the Croatian radio and the Moslem-controlled Sarajevo radio.

The Serb military sources have no confirmed information on what caused the fires in the Moslem-controlled region.

Bosnian Croat forces, reinforced by troops from western Herzegovina and Croatia, have recaptured positions in northern Mostar in an all-out offensive, the Croatian radio has said. Artillery duels continue in southern Mostar, while hand-to-hand Moslem-Croat combat is taking place in the town section called Bijelo Polje.

Unabated Croat-Moslem clashes continue also in central Bosnia, Bosnian Croat military sources have said. The information has been confirmed by Bosnian Serb military sources and the Sarajevo radio.

Units of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO—Bosnian Croat Forces) have blocked Gornji Vakuf, which is now completely encircled, HVO sources have said, while the Bosnian Serb military sources based in the neighbouring Srbobran (formerly called Donji Vakuf, now under Serb control) have said that HVO units are heading towards Gornji Vakuf and Bugojno.

The Sarajevo radio has said that Croats torched seven Moslem villages in the region of Gornji Vakuf and that street battles between HVO units and Moslem army were being fought in Capljina, Ljubusko and Stolac.

Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA has quoted the Croatian radio as reporting the fiercest HVO-Moslem clashes in central Bosnia near Zavidovici, while HVO forces are about to enter Zavidovici.

In the meanwhile, Moslem forces are arresting the remaining Croatian civilians in villages along the Usora River, central Bosnia, and in Maglaj and Zepce, SRNA said.

Twenty-four wounded members of the HVO, who had been treated in hospitals of the Bosnian Serb republic, were transferred from Banja Luka to Novska through the mediation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and handed over to the Croatian medical corps.

Muslim, Croat Members of HVO Clash

AU0707113493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] UNPROFOR spokesman Berry Frewer gave more details today about the street fighting in Capljina, Ljubuski, and Stolac. According to him, these are clashes between the Muslim and Croat members of the Croatian Defense Council. [passage omitted]

Serbs Expel Muslims, Croats From Banja Luka

LD0607161493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] The Bosnian Serbs have expelled yet another group of Muslims and Croats from the Banja Luka region. The local Red Cross from Nova Gradiska has accepted 166 civilians, mainly children, women and the elderly, from the areas of Bosanska Gradiska, Banja Luka, and Prijedor. Eighty percent of the refugees have a permit for transit through Croatia, and they will be moving on to western and northern European states. However some families do not know their destination. The Bosnian refugees boarded a train in Nova Gradiska on their way to Zagreb. Of the 20 percent of refugees staying in Croatia, several will stay in Nova Gradiska because they have exchanged their homes with local Serbs. Of their own will, 16 Serbs from Nova Gradiska, Pozega, and Slavonski Brod left Croatia and went to Bosnia.

Muslims Continue To Launch Attacks on Doboj

LD0707104393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Doboj, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—Muslim artillery from the direction of Tesanj targeted Doboj throughout last night. Early this morning numerous mortar shells were fired on the city from the direction of Matuzici, causing material damage.

Serb military sources said today that Muslim units on the battlefields in the wider area of Doboj are continuing their attacks on Serb positions and settlements. Muslims are also regrouping their forces and attempting to infiltrate sabotage and terrorist groups. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Muslims in Austria Called To Fight

LD0507175093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1719 GMT 5 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Ljubljana, July 5 (TANJUG)—A number of both illegal and legal Moslem organizations in Austria have initiated a broad action of calling Bosnian Moslems in Austria to join Moslem troops in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sources close to the organizations said only several thousand Bosnian Moslems in Austria responded to the initiative.

The action, the realization of which was recently discussed between Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic and Austrian officials, is being carried out in arrangement with Izetbegovic himself and his closest associates.

The Austrian authorities are preparing a package of measures to exert pressure on Bosnian Moslems in Austria to sign up. Moslem organizations in Austria said they would suggest similar actions to Moslem organizations in Germany and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

Volunteers Found Among Dead in Trnovo

AU0707094293

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 7 July carries in its regular 17-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the Republic.

Reporting from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "the siege of the town by joint chetnik and ustasha forces continues as they keep trying with all their force to break through into our territory. Late yesterday afternoon, the chetnik artillery fired several hundred shells on the defense positions as their infantry attempted a breakthrough. However, our heroes, the fighters of the 201 Brigade, repelled them back to their initial positions. After this defeat, the chetniks intensified the shelling of civilian targets in the town, killing two, and seriously wounding six civilians." He says that "it is rather quiet this morning with the exception of sporadic barrages of antiaircraft machine guns against civilian targets in the town. Both enemies are concentrating new forces for even heavier attacks."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "the heavy chetnik shelling on this front is continuing. The night brought no relief after yesterday's fierce attacks. The eastern defense lines of Gradacac were particularly exposed to shelling, as they are this morning. This is the fourth day this town has been shaking with explosions."

From Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the heavy attacks by the Serbian-chetnik aggressor on the defense positions continued well into the night. The situation was the worst at the central defense positions, where some 350 shells were fired at the region of Bajici. The chetniks also made four attempts at combined tank and infantry breakthroughs in that region. However, each time they were forced to pull back with heavy losses in manpower, while in one of the attacks, the defenders hit one of their tanks. It was almost the same on the Dizdarusa-Omerbegovaca front line, where all the chetnik attacks were repelled. One enemy Praga was destroyed in the region of Omerbegovaca, and then the defenders destroyed one of the aggressor's tanks with a precise hit. Throughout the night the enemy pounded the defense lines whilst regrouping and preparing the ground for new attacks. At about 2130 [1930 GMT] last night, the aggressor concentrated strong armor [oklop] in the (?Rogozav] area. In Lipovac, the chetniks cut down the

woods facing our positions to make it easier for their armored-mechanized force to maneuver."

From Trnovo Semso Tucakovic reports that "this is the third day that the greater Serbian thugs of Radovan Karadzic, with the help of the regular units of the army of the so-called Yugoslavia and Romanian and Russian volunteers, have been trying at all costs to break through the defense lines in Grebak and Rogoj, the strategically important mountain saddles, and thus capture Trnovo. That is why there have been such heavy artillery and infantry attacks during the last few days on the borders of the free territories of Foca, Trnovo, and Kalinovik communes, which are defended by the 81 Hill Brigade. This enemy offensive has let up this morning, and not because of the storm over this town, but because they have suffered such defeats. Over 2,000 shells from howitzers, guns, and multiple rocket launchers were fired last night from chetnik positions. The chetniks launched three infantry attacks at Grebak, and they paid a heavy price for that as 20 bearded thugs, among whom there were some Romanian mercenaries, will remain forever on (?Grebska Kosa)."

Army Claims Serb Forces Receiving Russian Weapons

LD0607222093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The information service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 1st Corps reports that the enemy attempted to break through the defensive lines in the Sarajevo district of Sup with an infantry attack backed by armored personnel carriers on the night of 5 July. This was preceded by a strong artillery attack. However, our fighters did not take on the chetniks unprepared—they hit one personnel carrier and captured one Death Sower [Sejac Smrti] with live ammunition and a large quantity of mines and explosives.

The enemy's weapons and ammunition arsenal contained a chest of recently manufactured Russian machine-gun ammunition, which is ample proof that the aggressor is still openly receiving ammunition and arms from Russia despite the embargo.

The Serbo-chetniks suffered considerable casualties in this attack—10 chetniks were killed and many wounded. The defensive line in this section of the front is stable and remains unchanged.

Bihac Official on Muslim-Croat Relations

93BA1162A Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May-4 Jun 93 pp 24-28

[Interview with Fikret Abdic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and general director of Holding "Agrokomerc," all or in part originally published in EURO BOSNA, published in Germany; name of interviewer, date, and place not given: "Fikret-Beg Abdic on Organization of Bihac Nahija: State as Operation of Viennese Agrokomerc"]

[Text] *I am not a chetnik mother! I have no ambition to create my own state. That is not feasible. We suppressed nationalism with a proper personnel policy—the most capable people are now in the most important posts. There are always funds for military and police wages in the Agrokomerc coffers. We got rid of all currencies except marks, dollars, and schillings in time. Agrokomerc entered the war with 243 million German marks [DM], but will leave the war with nothing. Our slogan is: Deliverance today, reconstruction and development tomorrow! We need two years to put Agrokomerc on sound foundations. We have sown the Serbs' fields, and they can return whenever they want. I am disappointed with the poor level of participation by our people in helping and defending the homeland. I admit that I foster major illusions about the Krajinans—these are the comments of the member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in an interview with the emigrant publication EURO BOSNA, which is published in Germany.*

Until 2 August, Mr. Fikret Abdic, a member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and general director of Holding "Agrokomerc," stayed and worked at his post on the Presidency. During peacetime, before the war, he was the number-one man for the economy. During the first days of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, he was one of most visible members of the Presidency at the "hot spots" of Bosanski Brod, Derventa, and Bijeljina. Protracted and exhaustive attempts to halt the war. The formulation of all-encompassing plans for defending the homeland from armed aggression with Abdic's around-the-clock participation.

[DUGA] Last August, you were once again among your Krajinans, in the region in which 350,000 inhabitants of the cities Cazin, Velika Kladusa, Bihac, and Bosanska Krupa were encircled.

[Abdic] My departure from Sarajevo was planned, not spontaneous. On 6 July I provided the Presidency with information on the situation in Bihac Okrug, and proposed that I go to that region in order to directly handle all the questions of defense, economic activity, and the organization of life in general. When I got there, I found a completely disorganized situation, sheer improvisation of okrug operations, noncompliance with regulations that the Presidency adopted in early August. Only the chairman of the assembly and the prime minister of the okrug were functioning, but the Assembly and the government were not. Now—and this is the most important thing—the armed forces are organized in their entirety, which means not only the 5th Corps, but also the Main Staff of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Police. The real structure of the Assembly and government has been organized, comprising managers from the

okrug, there is continuous coordination, a model for good work, whereby there are plenty of segments that must be improved upon. The people resisted the preparation of the Analysis of the Overall Situation in the Okrug, the formulation of which I demanded immediately after my arrival in the area. The obstruction by individuals who were using the war for their own profit was used as a model for exhibiting disagreement with me.

[DUGA] Upon your arrival in Velika Kladusa and the Bihac Okrug, the "Yugoslav dinar" was also suspended, which rapidly subverted the monetary system and impoverished the already catastrophic situation in that region?

[Abdic] In this region alone, the "Yugo-dinar" was maintained all the way up to 20 October of last year, and if I had not insisted for such a long time and so impudently that if the Analysis is not ready then a single decision of the Velika Kladusa Assembly should be adopted and that it has a chain reaction on the adoption of the same decisions by the opstina Assemblies of Bihac, Cazin, and Bosanska Krupa, then it would still be in effect. I did not accept the Okrug Assembly as a legal institution, because it was not founded in accordance with the law. Foreign means of payment were introduced. We did not carry out the replacement of the "Yugo-dinar" with the "B-H dinar" because an adequate exchange was not possible all at once and in the necessary quantities. It was simply impossible to introduce it, while the partial and seasonal manner that was applied in this region is very dangerous and again strengthens the smuggling lobby, which was not even immune to ties with the local authorities. All foreign means of payment are in circulation now: marks, schillings, francs, whereby the German mark has been accepted as the basic accounting unit. During this period, the Yugo-dinar has only existed here, and it is incredible that no one has noticed that if it is not suspended there will be economic, and then political and military collapse, without a struggle. There has even been opposition to its suspension.

[DUGA] During the first month of your stay in Bihac Okrug, there was a great deal of resistance to changes that you imposed.

[Abdic] That lasted a little more than a month, because many people lost positions that they had gained in various ways. Then people realized what should happen and how, that this was the only solution. Unity is the most essential thing to us. Because if I come out on one side and okrug institutions come out on the other, that creates confusion.

People like to mark time and tell familiar stories. To enter into an uncertain situation with the nation until the end. If it ends in the most catastrophic way, then they say, "We did not know, we are all to blame." The first replacement took place in Velika Kladusa, and then in the okrug. Now we have a real Assembly structure, we have a real government structure, a government of managers, to be precise. The government adopted a decision on tax rates because the biggest problem is that no wartime budget was adopted, so that taxes have not been specified either. Thus, only the economy and whoever was stronger was involved in the comprehensive financing of the okrug. At the same time, the 20 percent of the people in this area who are economically stronger, with capital greater than the remaining 80 percent, are not participating in financing. This DM1,000 to DM2,000 is, I think, a smoke screen and is unacceptable on the one hand, while on the other hand, which is the most essential thing for you, our workers who are abroad are clearly not financing the overall needs of this okrug.

[DUGA] But are they even inspired to do so?

[Abdic] I have insisted on inspiring them during numerous meetings with workers abroad. For example, their participation would provide money for intermediate goods that would get Agrokomerc going again. This has not worked, however. Quite simply, the government has not adopted any binding decisions whatsoever. Everything has been improvisation. It has simply been impossible to collect the tax.

[DUGA] How about now, are things functioning now?

[Abdic] Under that decision, all citizens who work abroad but whose households are here are taxed. That means an end to those parasites who travel around Germany collecting money, while nothing makes it back here. Only a million and a half marks have arrived in this area, which came in through the budget, and that is recognized. There is also some sort of trail. What got into some people's hands went to the okrug, the Office of the Okrug, Zagreb, etc., with those who move around, who fled from here and thus must justify their absence, so that they are asking people for money and allegedly sending it to someone, even to local communities, individuals, etc. All of this must be substantiated in further actions. This okrug has been paid for by the person whose money has entered the budget and gone from the budget to the final beneficiary. Everything that has not followed that path is unrecognized. And now this policy has been formulated, and the workers will be informed of it in writing.

Thus, one must participate in this financing. Otherwise we will have a situation where it is not at all possible to get production going. We are linking this to production because this involves motivating factors. People here have no interest in starting up production on these foundations. We entered the war, at Agrokomerc, for example, with DM243 million, while we will leave the war without that, even though that is the workers' resources of these 7,000 people. Some people do not care whether they relinquish goods for foreign exchange or have money in their pockets or at home, in a drawer, etc. If we had coincidentally decided at the beginning of the war to give this to the people, then that would be equal treatment. Now it is not only Agrokomerc, because other

collectives are also giving, but Agrokomerc is giving the most, because it also had the most. If someone outside were called upon to give, say, DM10,000, the country would revolve around him, but when we give DM30,000 no one notices, so that the logic created is that these are state enterprises. We are very much opposed to socialist principles, and with good reason. The question right now is not whether some of these collectives have not paid and to obligate our outside workers to participate more, but rather the fact that the reserves of these collectives are exhausted, while the life of this okrug must be provided for. That is very essential. We have ensured that this is a part of B-H in which the state functions. When I say state, I intentionally do not say rule-of-law state; it would be nice if the rule-of-law state functioned, but it is essential that it functions in general. That means that the opstina assemblies and executive committees function here, the Okrug Assembly functions, the okrug government, the state institutions, the police and public prosecutor's office, the armed forces, the 5th Corps, and the Main Staff of the HVO and police.

Okrug Above All Else

[DUGA] Relations between Muslims and Croats are troubled in a large part of B-H. What is the situation in Bihac Okrug?

[Abdic] Here too, relations between the 5th Corps and the Main Staff of the HVO, relations between Muslims and Croats, are extraordinary and in no way troubled. Why? Because the state existed, there existed some sort of body around which everyone could rally, in which everyone believes; consequently, despite all the criticism and insinuations that are being circulated, although far away from us, indecent things are being said about us, especially in Zagreb in front of and inside mosques, which is very indecent, whereby people who have no idea of what is happening here are commenting, because of which some of their admirers have been drawn into question because they did not know how to or want to work. First they did not want to, and then they did not know how to. They had to be replaced, and now there is discussion going on about how something is happening here, that the party is returning, etc., saying that I want my own party. It is true that I have assembled all forces, all parties, and all people of good will who want to, know how to, and are able to apply all their professional, working, and creative abilities to seeing to it that this okrug emerges from the war with as little damage as possible. Everyone must pursue this as well, although what is more important to others is a narrow, no longer partisan, but rather petty devotion to holding out, one can even come to grief, these postulates are realized in this region regularly, in the right place. These primitives have been totally destroyed, and this bothers some forces, and then they assemble extraterritorially and start rumors about this region, which are untrue. One day all of this will be revealed and many people will have to answer for this, because their orientation is against this region, not in its interest.

I Am Not Creating a Bihac Republic

[DUGA] It is obvious that you have valid feedback on what is happening outside the region. It appears that there are many people who are justifying their powerlessness with the alleged mistakes made by you and your associates?

[Abdic] I will provide complete information on everything that has happened here from the outset, on what forces have made and are making what moves and which ones are the main ones right now, as well as on what forces have executed negative and harmful moves in the extraterritorial region, etc. But the most essential thing, which must be said right now, is that we are functioning here with our resources amid very little material and other support from anyone. And we will not allow it to be said that we are pursuing some sort of separate policy. We accept only the material aid that has been created by the B-H Government, in the Ministry of Finance. We recognize only that, not any other source, because any other source presents problems for us and creates discord instead of solutions. Information is being conveyed there to the effect that we are allegedly negotiating with the Serb side, that I am splitting Kladusa off from Bihac, so that a region will be set up with Vojnic, with a chetnik orientation, and at the very least I an uncritical of the Serbs, etc. I have not reacted to these insinuations, and people know that they are not true. They do this consciously because certain forces, namely ours, and I am talking about the forces within the Muslim nation, are not happy about the consolidation of legal status, because they are the ones who cannot find expression in an organized setting. They need only crisis and chaos because then no matter what you do it is all the same. I have not engaged in any negotiations in this area, not in order to show these forces that I am not a chetnik or at the very least uncritical of the Serb side, but rather because then I would be establishing a new focus of negotiations. We have focuses of negotiations in the persons of Boban for the Croats, Izetbegovic for the Muslims, and Karadzic for the Serbs. Everyone knows that. But now, when I would accept local negotiations, which deeply disturbs the Serb side, we would have an advantage as far as armed activities are concerned, but in the long run we would be duplicating relations. Not only would there be no results for the Muslim and Croat nations. This would even be condemned by the Serb side, as if I were conducting negotiations on a fourth level. I did not come here to advance myself; if I had, then I would have established a focal point for new negotiations, brought in the media, and then set up the Bihac Republic that is imputed to me, etc. I came in order to preserve one okrug, not looking at it only locally, but also in terms of the broader situation of the B-H state under international law, because in the process of revitalizing the state, reconstruction, and development, we must start somewhere. Here we have an area that is organized, preserved, even though it has been subjected to activities, to armed combat. Because of the hermetic confinement over a long period of time, this has left its mark on the people, but nevertheless this is a region from

which one can launch reconstruction and development in the interest of the people of this area and in the interest of opening processes and positive influences in the broader territory of B-H. Thus, deliverance today and reconstruction and development tomorrow.

Deliverance Today, Reconstruction and Development Tomorrow

[DUGA] How does the Presidency operate? You noted that Mr. Izetbegovic represents Muslims in the negotiations.

[Abdic] All the people see and follow how our people present and depict themselves. As far as representation is concerned, Izetbegovic, Boban, Karadzic, here things are very clear. Perhaps this question would have been appropriate at an earlier time, but now it is essential that those of us in this Presidency function. We need not function at meetings; we can, and it is even most necessary that, we function in the field. Thus, I have sent my 20th report to the Presidency since I left Sarajevo, and I am keeping the Presidency and all the members of the Presidency continually up to date on all events in this region and all my actions.

[DUGA] In the first multiparty elections, you received the most number of votes in B-H. As the person who turned his function over to Mr. Izetbegovic, would you have pursued policy differently over this past year?

[Abdic] I think that that is completely unimportant right now, all the more so since if I had wanted something like that I should have said so at the time, so that the public, the people, could decide, etc. Since I did not, since I voiced and stuck to these positions from day one, although this was manipulated on several occasions, especially from reappointment to reappointment, opinions have always emerged concerning whether my ambition to be president has grown. My ambition has not been a desire to be president of the Presidency either the first or the second time, so that I think that it is unimportant how I would have acted in a post that I have never wanted and that I do not want even today.

[DUGA] A commission has been formed to implement the agreement between Muslims and Croats in Zagreb, to which you have been appointed. Are there any prospects and possibilities that it will function? Can the conflicts be surmounted?

[Abdic] I personally think that these conditions can be surmounted, that they should not have even been thrown into disorder; I think that not enough people were paying attention because this did not break out over night. Nevertheless, people were paying attention and I think that the example of Bihac Okrug shows that things must be watched carefully and closely and that as soon as any negative connotations begin to emerge, they must be dealt with and analyzed. Indeed, we are lacking several analyses, several assessments, but figuring out the concrete situation should have preceded that. I think that problems have emerged in information. It is very essential whether accurate or inaccurate information is being circulated. I cannot speak for other areas, but for this area I can say with complete reliability that the greatest danger for you is information that comes by telephone. Not because someone is listening in, but rather because the person who is providing the information is not in a position, or concretely speaking, I, speaking from this Bihac region, am not in a position to keep an eye on myself; I contradict myself three times. However, if I submit written information and it has to be incorporated into the method and content of the work of both the B-H Presidency and the B-H Government, all information coming from the field can be exclusively written. On the other hand, very often all the information is not read in the corresponding institutions, they are supposedly at work, so that there is no time. All information must be read through. Based on all the information, they must analyze all events and formulate clear assessments.

Case of 24 Tanks and 1,000 Infantrymen

[DUGA] In any event, you have said that the only possibility for communication with the region where there are 350,000 inhabitants is that humanitarian corridor. Is it functioning now?

[Abdic] The humanitarian corridor is functioning now, but reserves of goods and foodstuffs for transport through this humanitarian corridor are now smaller. We at Agrokomerc Vienna and the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] have bought 2,000 metric tons of flour, as well as seed valued at DM1 million. Less and less humanitarian aid is arriving because there are less and less reserves. The world rule is that humanitarian aid is provided for half a year, and you see? Countries are less and less willing to provide material aid, and we must find a model for replacing humanitarian aid. Besides the resources of Agrokomerc, which we have at our disposal, we have no other resources. I am using and creating the resources of Agrokomerc, not those of the republic.

[DUGA] You have been subjected to the fiercest aggression since the beginning of the war, hundreds of shells have fallen on you and you have been attacked by nearly 1,000 chetniks.

[Abdic] The aggression against Velika Kladusa is specific, because besides the characteristic of aggression there is also the characteristic of a special war. It is said here that this is aggression organized by people from this region. These people encounter no obstacles whatsoever in coming to this region. The places that have been subjected to aggression are Serb towns, Gradina, Bosanska Bojna, Glinica, and Poljana, from which no one was forced, everyone left on their own and can return whenever they want. Communication has been established with the help of military observers and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. Through them, we have been notified that we should not sow large areas, which he have not done. We have told them that we will

give them the finished crops whenever they return. Thus, we did not sow the land in order to avoid irritating anyone, but they have attacked us from their territory. After contact with the world, there was finally a response on how all this aggression happened. Everyone, both the Serbs from B-H and the Serbs from the SAO [Serb Autonomous Region of] Krajina, denies involvement and says that this was a local campaign. A local campaign with 24 tanks, more than 1,000 infantrymen, really sounds naive. The problem is the particular openness of this region. Many also saw in this some sort of agreement not to attack Kladusa, but it was attacked. Kladusa has one-third of the total border of Bihac Okrug. Most suitable for the aggressor. Until yesterday, everyone's explanation, including UNPROFOR's, was that this was really a local campaign, but yesterday's attack, all the might of the armored and mechanized equipment, provides the best refutement of this. This refutes all the assertions of the international community. We are interested in hearing an explanation of this.

[DUGA] Last year, at the end of August at the Hotel "Konak" in Kladusa, high-ranking UN officers, military observers, told me that Kladusa would not be attacked. If they are not in the hotel and in the city, an attack must be expected. Are they there now?

[Abdic] After the aggression broke out, the military observers simply disappeared. They stopped showing their face. This campaign took a long time to prepare. Since the preparations took so long and were even made, people had to know about it. That means that both UNPROFOR and the military observers knew about it and did not react at all. After Mr. Franjo Tudjman went to the United States and returned, after he announced upon his arrival in Zagreb that he would contribute to peace to the maximum extent, he consistently stuck to that. From the territory right around Glina, HVO forces entered the territory of the SAO Krajina and represented a major threat to the Serb side. Tudjman ordered that the conflict in Krajina be resolved peacefully, which relieved the chetniks from Croat pressure but gave them new strength to attack us.

Krajinans Oscillate a Great Deal

[DUGA] Are you satisfied with the support offered the Cazin Krajina from outside?

[Abdic] During these eight months, a great deal has been done internally, but externally it has been a total failure. I think that what has been done externally, abroad, is not even worth mentioning. I do not question the fact that people have given, but they must take into account where that has ended up. There has been much improvisation in the understanding of logical support. First, there is the UNHCR corridor and the humanitarian aid that passes through it. That is the only support for the Cazin Krajina. Everything else exactly zero. The DM1.5 million that has been collected outside is nothing. Second, people have lost sight of the fact that in order for the state to function here, the police must be paid, and for a year their pay has been provided by Agrokomerc. Everyone outside must know that teachers and health-care workers must be paid, that pensioners must receive their pensions, that state institutions must be paid. The economy is at a standstill, and for everything to function people must be ensured a tolerable life. The lack of organization abroad is great. In traveling around foreign countries, I have told people to send money, to their relatives for example, through the Agrokomerc account in Vienna. Then it was said that this money would go to Agrokomerc, and we discontinued everything. In the meantime, petty brokers have duped them on countless occasions, alleging that they have good connections for getting the money to their relatives in this area. Now they are asking for our help once again. Black-marketeers have amassed quite a fortune through this business. I have pictured and do picture Krajinans—and I myself follow this principle—as stable, solid, steady, sincere, courageous people, but they do sway a great deal.

Islamic Leader Predicts Prolonged War

93BA1151B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jun 93 pp 14-15

[Interview with Sevko Omerbasic, president of the Mesihat Islamic Community for Slovenia and Croatia, by Mihovil Dominic; place and date not given: "War in Bosnia-Herzegovina Will Last Another Three Years"]

[Text] *The Muslims should militarily regain part of the territory captured by the chetniks. If that were to happen, the tension in relations between Croats and Muslims would subside.*

Born in Gorazde, and thus someone whose experience of the war has been particularly difficult, Sevko Omerbasic, the president of the Mesihat Islamic Community for Slovenia and Croatia—aside from giving the impression of a man who is terribly disappointed by the current clashes between Muslims and Croats—nevertheless has not lost his hope in the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the ultimate victory over the chetniks. During our interview, he does not conceal his anxiety about the fighting between "natural allies," which could have alarming consequences if it is not halted quickly.

[Dominic] Numerous delegations are departing for Bosnia-Herzegovina, an entire entourage of journalists is also there, and all eyes are currently fixed upon the clashes between Muslims and Croats. Certainly your impressions from your recent visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina are interesting, but even more interesting is the question of who is to blame for these clashes.

[Omerbasic] I think that President Tudjman's assertion is correct, that the clashes were begun by extremist elements on both sides. One should consider certain psychological factors in looking for a possible explanation. For more than a year, the entire world has allowed the chetniks to mercilessly kill both the Muslim and the Croat nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has generated a psychosis of fear. What I mean is that among both

Muslims and Croats the fear for biological survival has been generated, the fear of possible extermination. This fear was clearly contributed to by the Vance-Owen plan, which initially did not spell out many issues in the least. Thus, the minority nations in the planned cantons did not feel that this plan offered them any protection whatsoever, nor were the dominant nations exceedingly satisfied.

Moreover, the question arose among the Croats of whether the Muslims are fundamentalist and want an Islamic republic, while among the Muslims doubts arose concerning whether the HZ [Croat Community of] Herzeg-Bosnia would secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina and be annexed to Croatia. Despite all this, the chetniks continue to kill. The world is restrained, help is not coming, and all this has had an effect on the clashes. Could they have been avoided? I maintain that this conflict does not benefit either side in any way. Specifically, if further clashes were to erupt, Bosnia-Herzegovina would fall apart. The Croats would lose everything that they got from the Vance-Owen plan, and the Muslims would lose what the chetniks have already cleansed through their ethnic cleansing. Accordingly, in the end the Serbs would take possession of 64 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Muslims and Croats would somehow have to divide the rest among themselves. I think that anyone who thinks that the war as a whole will end with these clashes is mistaken.

[Dominic] What should be done now to stop the fighting?

[Omerbasic] The Muslims should militarily regain part of the territory captured by the chetniks, because if that were to happen, the tension in relations between Croats and Muslims would subside. In this context, the Croats should help the Muslim units, especially with regard to Gorazde, Zepa, Srebrenica, and Tuzla. Moreover, I maintain that above and beyond all else, the Croats would have reasons to support the consolidation of units and of the front in general in the Sava basin. Closing the corridor, if only for 10 days, would not only inspire fear in the chetniks, but would also induce general panic, because we know what that corridor means to them. Actually, I am always opposed to war in principle, but despite my best intentions I can see no other way, no other methods for liberating all of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Muslims and Croats must rid themselves of the illusion that specific aid is going to arrive from the rest of the world.

[Dominic] Let us be pragmatic. What steps right now would bring an end to the fighting and create at least minimal trust?

[Omerbasic] It is known that the road constructed from Herzegovina to central Bosnia was a real jugular vein. But a lot of problems arose once check points popped up and certain irresponsible elements there began to halt convoys, to take vehicles and goods. It must be said that this important road was built by Herzegovinans, that Muslims did not take part in its construction, but it seems to me unjust to halt something that meant life to someone. On the other hand, stories about imported mujahidin started circulating. I do not know the whole story about that, but I do know fairly accurately how many were involved. There were around 150 to 200 mujahidin, but today there are no more than 60. Accordingly, they were certainly not a decisive factor. Besides the armed aggression, the Serbs carried out psychological aggression as well, constantly talking about mujahidin, continually taking such stories to the outside world, so that at one point the world thought that there was some truth to this. I know that Bosnia-Herzegovina received offers for a larger number of mujahidin to come fight in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but I know reliably that President Izetbegovic energetically rejected this possibility, because he felt that Bosnia-Herzegovina must be defended by its citizens, and he has stuck to that position to this very day.

[Dominic] But how can this fighting be stopped? What is keeping Croats and Muslims from realizing that the chetniks are their common enemy, which only they can defeat?

[Omerbasic] When one gets the impression that one is threatened, regardless of whether that is objective, one acts completely differently. Weapons are drawn over a single word, and once the killing begins it is hard to stop. It seems to me that neither side recognizes the catastrophic nature of this fighting. I think that the matter has been gradually wrestled from the hands of the commanders, and naturally of the politicians, and it is quite possible that not all of them have control over their units. It is worth noting that right now it is primarily volunteers who are fighting, while you have "local pashas," probably on both sides, and in that case, with this feeling of being threatened, it is somehow easiest to attack people who are not members of your own nation.

[Dominic] You noted that the Muslims and the Croats must give up the illusion that the West is going to help them. At the beginning of the war, some Islamic countries even talked about the possibility of an oil embargo against the West if it did not help Bosnia. Today it is obvious that the Islamic countries have completely broken off their commitment.

[Omerbasic] Broken off? I would say that this commitment never really began.

[Dominic] Why?

[Omerbasic] There are many factors here. First, they did not have a complete notion of what is going on here. When they heard the first reports of massacres, there was more of a response and a stronger reaction by the people in Islamic states than by the governments of those states. It is hard to say with precision whether it had to do with U.S. policy under Bush, which was a sort of catalyst, whether it was essentially influenced by the policy of France and Great Britain, whether the possibility of military intervention was actually always hanging in the

air, so that in this sense the Islamic countries decided to wait, or whether it was a mixture of these factors. In any event, one definitely cannot talk about major and abundant aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina from those countries. Probably one of the reasons for their reticence is the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a country of more than one religion, so that in some sense it was felt that the entire problem was someone else's burden, particularly the United Nations. The United Nations, in turn, engaged in very skillful manipulation here and avoided responsibility, which resulted in this difficult situation. I was one of the few people who said that one should not foster any hope whatsoever in this aid; I stubbornly emphasized that the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem is a problem for the Bosnians.

[Dominic] Was not the most expected of Turkey? Why was it reticent?

[Omerbasic] Turkey mostly stresses that it is bound by membership in NATO and that it cannot act individually; rather, it must participate in collective actions. We know that NATO, with its 10 statements, continually supported the decision on air intervention, although as soon as that began to be talked about I predicted that nothing would come of it. On the other hand, the effect of the colossal lie of Serbian policy was that the world, especially at the beginning, could not at all find its bearings. Whenever a situation arose where the aggressor had to be pressured more strongly, this was tempered by some event in Serbia, which falsely indicated that something was happening here, and then every stronger action would be postponed. Accordingly, that illusion must be dropped. Muslims and Croats must realize this, because neither all Muslim areas nor all Croat areas are free, the Muslim ones especially, and for that reason Bosnia-Herzegovina must be completely liberated. The chetniks will not stop this war until they achieve their goals, and that war cannot stop until Bosnia-Herzegovina is free. I am afraid that the war will continue for another three years, while the informal war, the guerrilla war, could last for decades.

[Dominic] Do you maintain that the chetniks have not achieved their goals?

[Omerbasic] I do not think so. This territory that they hold right now does not offer them any guarantees. Bosnian Krajina cannot be secure because it depends on the "corridor," which can be imperilled at any time. That is why they are very annoyed by Brcko and Gradacac, as well as Tuzla. But their infantry attacks end up in the so-called starting positions every time. Accordingly, they have not completed what they have in mind, but it appears that their personnel will not advance.

[Dominic] But are the "protected zones" not an element that recognizes the Serb conquests, and thus legitimizes the Sava corridor, regardless of how thin it is?

[Omerbasic] The "protected zones" are the result of false hopes for military intervention. I think that in the political sense all forces should be directed at lifting the embargo on arms imports. But the result of this expectation of military intervention or at least of a lifting of the embargo is the worst solution—the "protected zones," which are needed most of all by the international community, which desires peace above all else. But even the factor that puts forward this type of decision, and it is apparently the will of the world, does not know how to implement it. I actually do not see how the resolution on "protected zones" can even be implemented, because the Serbs do not even respect the resolution on Srebrenica as a protected zone, so that they will not respect this one either. The chetniks want to get to the sources of water and electricity, and then dictate the pace. This worked for them in Srebrenica, but in Gorazde the free territory was much larger, and it must be said that the chetniks do not hold the entire opstina of Foca either, nor the entire opstina of Cajnice and several others.

[Dominic] You said that Bosnia cannot capitulate, even though there is increasing world speculation about the disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is even being predicted by Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mock.

[Omerbasic] Alois Mock and other European politicians are looking at these things geostrategically, but I am approaching them from the human standpoint. During the Second World War, 150,000 Muslims were killed, and once again, somehow, a common language was found. We know that at the end of the war plenty of chetniks were taken off to labor camps or to be executed, so that we can ask why this would not happen this time as well. In the end, it would be a world precedent for an international recognized state to disappear.

This could be a signal to dozens of other states. Indeed it could be a signal for what is most feared in Croatia—the dismemberment of the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

This strong world interest in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which began most of all because of the crimes committed, has another dimension—the strategic one. It seems to me that the longer the world deals with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, the longer the beginning of war in the former Soviet Union will be postponed, and so many contradictions have multiplied there that it is hard to imagine how questions there could be resolved differently than here.

[Dominic] When people talk about Muslim and Croat victims, the figure of 200,000 dead is usually mentioned. Do you perhaps know how many Serbs have been killed?

[Omerbasic] It is hard to say with any precision. The most aggressors were killed in places where part of the people made preparations for defense. The aggressor has suffered most of his losses in the armed forces, and although it is impossible to say exactly how many that is, estimates of several tens of thousands of dead can be taken very seriously.

[Dominic] There used to be plenty of talk of an alliance between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in resisting the

chetniks. It seemed very effective, especially while the Sava basin was free. Who rejected this alliance?

[Omerbasic] I think that Croatia offered this alliance. I would rather not talk about details, because I was not present, but I think that President Izetbegovic rejected it with the excuse, "What will the world say?"

At the time, my reaction was that the world will not say anything, whether or not Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina team up; rather, the newspapers will only be full of reports from Bosnia-Herzegovina because there is so much to report, and nothing else will come of it. I do not know whether that was later removed from the agenda in Croatia, so that there was then that agreement on cooperation and friendship, but the most detrimental thing is that a real alliance between Muslims and Croats in the field was not established, joint commands, joint units....

After all, mixed units in Tuzla, Usora, the Sava basin, and elsewhere have performed flawlessly in liberating Bosnia-Herzegovina from the aggressor.

Bosnian Serbs, Croats Form Local Alliances

93BA1156A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 93 pp 14-15

[Article by Dejan Jelovac: "On the Scene in Vlasic: Cedos, Ujkas, and Balijas"]

[Text] *"Then we would kiss each other, drink coffee together, and talk about the misfortune that has befallen us. It was never like that with the Muslims," say Croats who have sought refuge among Serbs.*

After two nights without shelter, in the rain, behind Serb positions in Vlasic, many of the approximately 4,000 civilian refugees from Travnik did not hide their pleasure at being alive, despite the seizure of their cars and supplies of German marks by the Serb side (they were taken by Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] soldiers—for their assistance).

Dozens of cars crammed full of possessions, hundreds of small children, overburdened mules and horses, tractors, sheep, the tiresome and unremitting rain, and sorrow.

Sorrow over such much that has been lost.

This is the image of Vlasic, a mountain 20 km from Travnik, last Tuesday.

Two days earlier, around 800 HVO [Croatian Defense Council] fighters, together with civilians and 13 wounded, decided after several days of heavy fighting to launch a breach operation toward the forces of the 1st Krajina Corps of the VRS [Armed Forces of the Serb republic] stationed in Vlasic, attempting in this way to get out of a nearly hopeless situation. The momentary balance of power around Travnik and in the city itself lately has been—according to civilians and soldiers who have fled—around 10 to 1, and in some places on the front 97 to 1!

Confessions

"They outnumbered us 100 to 1; our fighters ran out of ammunition, and all of us were seized by a horrible panic from the shouts of those mujahidin. When there are several thousand of them screaming 'Alahu-ekber' while descending on your town, which is defended by a hundred fighters, whereby they do not even notice how they themselves are falling like flies, you freeze, collect whatever is most essential, and flee head over heels," says Brankica Bozic of Travnik.

"This alliance with the Muslims was unnatural from the beginning; it was all beneficial to someone, but now this is beneficial to them. The same images that we saw when Serbs fled their homes are repeating themselves, but now it is happening to us.

"It is as if certain people who make decisions about us have not learned their lesson. We have always gotten along great with the Serbs, intermarried, and for that reason there was no doubt about where we had to go to escape death. Including my brother's wife, who was taken to a collection camp in Manjaca together with the other fighters. She is a Serb, and now she is here with us. There has not even been any fighting with the Serbs, it was primarily skirmishes; they would aim over our heads at the Muslims and in this way help us. Our soldiers even visited Serbs in their positions and vice versa. The first one would call out, 'Cedo [slang for Serb], how are things over there?' 'Fine, how about you?' 'The same. Got any coffee?' Then we would kiss each other, drink coffee together, and talk about the misfortune that has befallen us. It was never like that with the Muslims. Now, during the withdrawal from Travnik, even our next-door neighbors have fired at us."

Serb sources in Bosnia have been warning the world public for a full year now that a large number of mujahidin warriors from Islamic countries are fighting in the ranks of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Now, for the first time, the Bosnian Croat forces and their leadership are alleging the same thing. According to information available to HVO units, but also according to civilian eyewitness accounts, there are several thousand mujahidin in the Travnik region alone.

"UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has cooperated directly with the Muslims, even transporting their soldiers from position to position and giving them ammunition and arms, while they have refused even to transport our wounded to our hospital in Nova Bila," says a wounded member of an HVO special unit, Dragan Paljuh, while his colleague Zlatko Matic adds: "When they offered to transport us to the hospital in Travnik, we said no, we would be butchered there. We demanded that they drive us to Banja Luka, but they refused. Then our leadership decided to set out for Vlasic, toward the Serbs with whom we had good relations.

"We arrived there among people who had helped us during the entire time of our skirmishes with the Muslims, people whom we trust. The Serbs gave us ammunition, arms, and aimed their artillery across our positions at the Muslims."

Cooperation

"In Travnik we kept an eye on them, we did not allow them to mistreat the local Muslims and the bearded mujahidin, and they joined the HVO and the police. Together we left Travnik, and of our 800 fighters 22 are Serbs. Unfortunately, several thousand Croats and Serbs did not make it and are now sharing a common fate, a hard and uncertain one. There can be no coexistence with the Muslims. We can coexist with the Serbs: We have done so and we will do so. We will never be able to repay them for what they have done for us."

Up until the most recent events, the three main precepts of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina were: The Croats and the Serbs are enemies, the Muslims and the Serbs are enemies, but the Croats and the Muslims are friends and allies in the struggle against their common enemy—the Serbs. For several reasons, those who are more knowledgeable about the roots, course, and goals of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be shocked and amazed by the new precept: The Croats and Muslims are enemies, the Muslims and the Serbs are enemies, but the Croats and the Serbs are allies in the common struggle against the Muslims, or balijas, as members of the Croat forces often call them. Why?

The origins of the Croat-Serb alliance date back to the summer of 1992 on the Sarajevo part of the battlefield, when Serbs generously loaned the HVO "prage" (PAT 30/2) with crews and ammunition so that members of the HVO could silence Muslims who were targeting Serb positions over their heads. After the job was done, the HVO would pay for the spent ammunition in the currency preferred by both sides—German marks. The cooperation continued with the withdrawal of hundreds of civilians from cities under Muslim control, while in Sarajevo, at Stup, an entire business emerged, from which many people grew rich, so that it was not strange to see HVO fighters and members of the VRS sitting together in a bar, drinking and talking about new campaigns.

Partition

In April of this year, a group of Croat fighters withdrew from demolished Konjic, which had been occupied by the Muslims, and together with civilians—both Croats and Serbs—crossed over to the Serb side of the front. The same thing was repeated less than two months later a little to the northwest, near Travnik.

The roots of the Croat-Muslim conflict must be sought in the military-strategic significance of part of Province 10 and of the Neretva valley, and because of that it is easier to understand the fierce fighting.

Jablanica, which has a system of five hydroelectric power plants on the Neretva and Rama, is the largest energy potential in this part of the former Yugoslavia. Furthermore, there is an artillery projectile and ammunition factory in Konjic as well as a technical repair plant for combat and noncombat vehicles and means of communication in Travnik; in addition, one should not forget the "Borac" military clothing industry, while Novi Travnik has "Bratstvo," a factory that produces (or used to produce) heavy artillery gear, multibarrel rocket launchers, and mortars. Vitez is known to everyone as the largest producer of explosives for military use, while the region between Kakanj and Gornji Vakuf is rich is all sorts of minerals.

Muslim forces have already taken cities in which Croats dominate—Jablanica, Konjic, Travnik, and Busovaca, and as this issue is going to press there is fierce fighting going on for Vitez and Kakanj.

It is certain that because of the exceptional importance of these territories neither the Muslim nor the Croat units will stop, which is confirmed by the continuation of the fighting there despite the signed cease-fire of 10 June.

It appears that the Bosnian Serbs and Croats have gone public with their agreement on the goals of the war, and the fate of Muslims in these regions is increasingly certain. Like the joke about partitioning Bosnia between the Serbs and Croats: The Croats get the left bank of every river, while the Serbs get the right.

With the Muslims in the middle.

Democratic Action Party Discusses Abdic Ouster

93AE0522B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 25 Jun 93 p 8

[Article by As'ad Taha]

[Text] Zagreb—Semso Tankovic, the chairman of the Croatia branch of the Muslim Party of Democratic Action, which is headed by Bosnian President Aliya Izetbegovic, informed AL-HAYAH that party leaders are holding intensive consultations with a view toward adopting effective measures in the face of the "questionable" efforts being made by some parties to appoint a replacement for Izetbegovic as president to pave the way for approval of partition proposals.

He said that one option being proposed is to oust presidency council member Fikret Abdic from the party. Such a move would automatically entail Abdic's exit from the council, because he ran under the party's umbrella in the 1990 elections that ushered him to a membership position in the presidency council.

The Bosnian activist said numerous meetings are being held continuously among party leaders throughout the former Yugoslavia to study this issue. He said that Abdic's joining of the party upon its founding was a mere matter of form and did not stem from any ideological or

intellectual commitment. He added that Abdic's ouster could be easily justified: by his deviation from the party's line and goals, which are to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a united, democratic state; and by Abdic's mistake of participating in the founding of another party, the Muslim Democratic Party, and his endorsement of the appointment of Armin Pahara, a military commander discharged from the Bosnian Army, as its chairman. Tankovic stressed that a decision to oust Abdic would enjoy President Izetbegovic's support and endorsement. He said, "Since six weeks ago, we have had some information which points to Abdic's intention to escalate the struggle which began the first moment he entered the party. However, we took no effective measures at the time, because our reactions are always delayed, and we do not make an effort to coordinate our political positions among the different currents."

Abdic Supportive of Presidency, Not President

93AE0522A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 27 Jun 93 p 7

[Article by As'ad Taha]

[Text] Zagreb—A member of the presidency council, Fikret Abdic, spoke with AL-HAYAH about his efforts and intentions to curtail and reduce the authorities of President Aliya Izetbegovic. AL-HAYAT interviewed Abdic in connection with the meetings of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency council in Zagreb on Friday night, 25 June. Abdic initially tried to deny any difference of opinion between himself and Izetbegovic, saying, "The only difference is my endorsement of going to Geneva, which he and Ejup Ganic rejected." However, when AL-HAYAH asked Abdic whether this meant that he supports Izetbegovic as the legitimate president of the country, he responded, "I only support the decisions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency council. I do not support the person himself. At the same time, I do not treat him as an enemy. I advocate that all of our decisions be made collectively in the presidency council."

Abdic added, "The president of the state is the council in its collective form, not a specific individual. I believe that the media erred when it referred to Izetbegovic as the president of the country. Moreover, perhaps we ourselves in the Bosnia-Herzegovina sphere erred in this regard, when the presidency council was not established as the highest authority and president of the country. In contrast to that, Izetbegovic has been presented as the president of the country recently."

He emphasized that "the presidency council is the state's president, leader, and highest authority. And I believe that this point is very important." He said that he is now making efforts, "so that this is realized by everyone, including key international figures and the principals of the peace conferences, especially Izetbegovic."

On a different matter, Abdic tried to evade AL-HAYAH's question regarding his personal attitude toward the joint Serbian-Croatian plan calling for the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ministates. He said, "We received the text of the plan in Geneva. It is one of the proposals which has been put forth. We are studying these proposals and have not adopted a final position on them."

Regarding rumors that he maintains strong relations with Serbian and Croatian leaders, Abdic said, "These rumors were dismissed in Geneva and in the presence of the Bosnian presidency council when Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said that he met with me only once in June 1987 and we have not met since then." He added, "Now, I have been accused of inclining toward the Croats because of my position on the clashes between them and the Muslims. I believe that matters are now clear."

AL-HAYAH asked him to explain the legal proceedings initiated against him by Austria's Office of the Attorney General on the charge that he misused monetary aid sent by Austria to the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that he obtained a large sum of money (estimated at about $8 million) from the families of some Muslim prisoners to mediate with the Serbian authorities to provide better conditions for the prisoners or even to release them. (The families transferred the requested sums to a special account held by the Vienna branch of the Agrokomerc Company, which Abdic helped establish in the sixties in Bosnia.) Abdic would only say that "this charge enters into the scope of measures against Fikret Abdic. All of these charges are of whole cloth and prepared in advance. I know who is behind them, and I can confront them." It is reported that communist authorities in the former Yugoslavia arrested Abdic in the eighties because of his involvement in a major financial scandal. When AL-HAYAH asked him if he intended to return to Sarajevo, which he left about nine months ago for his birthplace in Velika Kladusa, he responded, "My going to Sarajevo is not linked to my courage. I have already proved that I am the most courageous member of the presidency councils. However, the circumstances in Sarajevo are not yet ripe for me to go there."

In reference to his fear of being liquidated, he said, "I know what is being prepared for me. This is not being undertaken by the Interior Ministry, but by another ministry. It dispatched six teams to my birthplace to assassinate me, but all of them failed. I am brave, but not so foolish as to go to Sarajevo. I will remain loyal to my people—meaning the people of his region in the Bihac enclave—and to myself."

Delegation To Negotiate Agreement at Geneva

LD0607161293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1530 GMT 6 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, July 6 (TANJUG)—Head of the Croatian delegation to the Geneva talks Slavko Degoricija said on Tuesday that his delegation would make negotiations with a republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) delegation on a draft agreement on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 802 conditional on a previous understanding being reached on the peace plan provisions defining the Croatian territories.

In this way Degoricija has prejudged solution of the territorial question of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia before a political solution of the question. The republic of Serb Krajina, proclaimed in the Serb-dominated parts in 1991, after Croatia's violent secession from Yugoslavia, was placed under protection of the world organization as an UNPA (United Nations Protected Area). Late in January this year Croatia launched an aggression on the RSK territory and continues it in spite of the Security Council order to withdraw its troops.

A draft resolution on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 802, if signed by both parties when they resume talks in Geneva, should enable a ceasefire, withdrawal of the Croatian troops from the occupied territories of the RSK and the opening of a dialogue for a settlement of political and economic problems between Croatia and the RSK.

Degoricija said that in Geneva he would propose that the RSK, UNPROFOR and Croatian Government representatives declare themselves on all Security Council resolutions connected with the implementation of Vance's peace plan for Croatia. It is on this basis, he added, that a common platform would be set up for a resumption of talks between Knin and Zagreb on a normalization of relations.

If a political understanding is reached, said Degoricija, Croatia would be ready for separate talks on questions from the military, political and economic spheres.

The head of the Croatian delegation to the Geneva negotiations spoke on the eve of a meeting with Deputy co-Chairman of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia Knut Volebak and Ambassador Geerd Ahrens. The RSK and Croatian delegations are to sit down at the conference table Tuesday afternoon.

RSK, Bosnian Serb Republic Discuss Unification

LD0607153893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Knin, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—The republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] advocate a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis and a more intensive peace process to be realized through contacts between the beleaguered sides.

This was stressed among other things in a joint statement of the delegations of the two republics, carried by ISKRA [Croat Serb news agency]. Until late last night in Topusko [in Serb held area in Croatia] the delegations discussed current events and the position of the Serb nation in the light of current international events, as well as the process of unification of the RSK and the Serb republic.

The Serb republic's delegation, comprising Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb republic's People's Assembly, and Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic, was headed by Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic, while the Krajina delegation was headed by the RSK assembly president Mile Paspalj.

The statement stresses that the delegations also discussed the process of unification on the basis of the Prijedor Declaration, as well as the results of the referenda held in both republics.

The governments were charged with completing technical preparations that will be supervised by a joint coordinating committee, consisting of top representatives of both republics, that will, as the statement says, schedule a date for the unification act.

RSK Official Welcomes Extension of UNPROFOR Mandate

AU0707101393 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3-4 Jul 93 p 6

[S. P. Stamatovic report: "All UN Resolutions Most Clearly Express Zagreb's Wishes"]

[Text] Belgrade—After the statement by the Croatian ambassador to the UN, Mario Nobilo, that Croatia's convictions have been built into the latest resolution adopted four days ago in the Security Council, which extends the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate in the Krajina by another three months, the foreign minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, Slobodan Jarcevic, told BORBA:

We did not learn anything new. Croatia's convictions have been built into all the other UN resolutions so far, not only into this latest one which grants a three-month extension to the "Blue Helmets'" mandate. The Croats could have made the same boasts earlier, since it is a fact that all the former resolutions also largely express the Zagreb authorities' wishes, says Jarcevic.

As an example, Jarcevic mentions Resolution 762, which dates back to June 1992, and envisioned the return of those Croats who had once lived there to the Krajina. Jarcevic also mentions Resolution 815, which explicitly states that the republic of Serbian Krajina is part of the Republic of Croatia, and Resolution 820, which prohibits any economic activity and trade in the Krajina. Are not all of these Croatian convictions?

Otherwise—says the Krajina foreign minister—this three-month extension of the peacekeeping forces' mandate in the Krajina suits us. It would also suit us if they were to remain longer, as long as there is a danger of Croat aggression against the Krajina. In my opinion, the greatest folly would be if the United Nations were to withdraw the peacekeeping forces—a possibility announced by Butrus-Ghali—because I am sure that Croatia would then carry out an all-out aggression against the republic of Serbian Krajina. This, in turn, would mean that UNPROFOR would probably have to return to this region, but in much graver circumstances, said Slobodan Jarcevic yesterday in his statement to BORBA.

Owen, Stoltenberg Extend Talks in Zagreb

LD0707101893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0932 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, will arrive in Belgrade tomorrow, say sources close to the UN Protection Force. The Secretariat of the conference on former Yugoslavia announced their arrival in Belgrade for today but the visit has been delayed one day because Owen and Stoltenberg are to hold a number of talks in Zagreb today.

It has been unofficially learned that tomorrow in Belgrade the cochairmen will hold talks with Zoran Lilic and Slobodan Milosevic, presidents of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia, and that they are quite likely to meet Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic. [passage omitted]

Commentary Assesses Tudjman's Bosnian Policy

AU0707095893 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 93 p 2

[Branko Tudjen commentary: "To Avoid the Thin Ice of Yugo-Idea"]

[Text] It was very interesting to hear the statement made for Austrian Radio yesterday [27 June] by Misha Glenny, famous BBC correspondent and correspondent for other Western news agencies in former Yugoslavia. Glenny knows the circumstances, thanks to his knowledge of Serbian; he has also written books with conclusions mostly in favor of the Serbian side. However, he is, in any case, more than just an ordinary journalist. What seems to be the crucial point in understanding certain Western policies toward Croatia is Glenny's answer to whether it was worthwhile for the Croats to fight for freedom and democracy when it also brought so many problems. Glenny answered: "When you talk to Croatian citizens, it is interesting to see that the majority of them still think that it was worth their while." This very sentence says more than all the analyses; it is the reason that they are threatening to impose sanctions on Croatia because of its policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is, of course, intended to confuse the Croatian public. This sentence, therefore, reveals the essence of the behavior of certain Western centers of power toward Zagreb.

Not only Misha Glenny, but also Paris and London, at least, wonder why the Croats have still not realized that it would have been better if they had stayed in Yugoslavia, even under Milosevic's dictatorship according to the formula "one man—one vote," and they are trying, by all these threats against Croatia because of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to stimulate such ideas in the Croatian public.

Those who created and then recreated Yugoslavia do not see any differently than in 1918. According to them, not even Milosevic from 1990 would not be so terrible; they did not consider even the antibureaucratic revolution to be too bad, and least of all Milosevic's formula for Yugoslavia "one man—one vote." The West says that even King Aleksandar set up a dictatorship, and, according to natural laws, Milosevic would not last forever, either, just like the king. When the king died, a kind of an agreement was reached between the Croats and the Serbs, which was, indeed, soon broken by the Serbian coup on 27 March. Churchill praised the Serbs for that, because the coup was in the interest of Britain. Therefore, interest is what counts here. After that came Tito and, although he was a Croat, he was supported by the West because he advocated Yugoslavia. And those centers want the same again—Yugoslavia. They never got over it anyway. Statements regretting the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia or reprimanding Germany only confirm that.

When Croatia is threatened with sanctions because of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there are two intentions in the background: to promote in the Croatian public the opinion that "it was all not worthwhile, that it would have been better to stay in Yugoslavia, even under Milosevic, who would not last for ever, anyway," and to force the Croatian authorities to give up the fate of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. By such a viewpoint, certain Western centers of power managed to deceive some Croatian politicians, of whom some do not understand what this is all about and some may be intentionally acting in favor of those international views.

What does it mean to accuse Tudjman of working for the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, or of being a hostage to the politics of the Herzegovina Croats? It would, of course, be very bad if it were so, but it seems that, in this case, it is something entirely different—inter-Croatian

rivalries. The main point is that, if Tudjman gave up the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they would be forced to accept any solution. That solution would absolutely prove that a civic and unitary (federal) Bosnia-Herzegovina is possible. If that kind of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with 10 provinces and a degree of confederalism, is possible, then such a Yugoslavia is also possible. Bosnia-Herzegovina would be the beginning. Naturally, a third Yugoslavia would be possible if someone gave in and turned against themselves. The West certainly does not expect the Serbs to do that, but they do expect that from the Croats.

When Tudjman says that he is for a confederal Bosnia-Herzegovina, then it is not "a tombstone for Croatia," but a consistent implementation of his own words from the beginning: "Yugoslavia could have been saved only as a confederation." If, as they said, "Bosnia-Herzegovina was a miniature Yugoslavia," then, according to that analogy, it can today (perhaps, because a large- scale war has broken out in the meantime) be preserved only as a confederation. The rest is drawing the new Yugo-idea on thin ice. And it seems that being (wrongfully) accused of the division is a lesser problem than sacrificing the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats today, and the very Republic of Croatia tomorrow and, thereby, returning to Yugoslavia.

Assembly Announces Change in Currency Name

LD0207123693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0951 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Text] Zagreb, July 2 (TANJUG)—Instead of the dinar a new currency—kuna—will be introduced, the parliament of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia has decided.

Kuna was in use 50 years ago in Croatia. It was the official currency at the time of the quisling independent state of Croatia during World War Two, a state created under the auspices of the fascist Germany and which was responsible for the massacre of hundreds of thousands of civilians—Serbs, Jews and gypsies.

Under the proposal the parliament upheld Thursday, kuna would be the basic monetary unit and would be divided into 100 lipas.

The Croatian dinar is the means of payment in Croatia. It was introduced in October 1991, following a decision of this republic to secede from the Yugoslav Federation.

The European Community recognized on January 15, 1992, Croatia's independence.

All the former Yugoslav republics have, following secession, introduced their own money and defined its parity to the dinar, which remained the currency in use in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

The actual change of the currency unit will have to wait for a little while, as set out in official circles, as high inflation was melting away the value of the Croatian currency. In the first six months this year, the average inflation rate in Croatia was 26 percent, which at the annual level amounted to 1,600 percent.

New Independent 'Satirical' Newspaper

93BA1125B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 93 p 12

[Article by R.A.: "FERAL TRIBJUN Started"]

[Text] *The satirical-political newspaper, which will come out twice monthly, is being edited by the same group of journalists who organized FERAL TRIBJUN as a supplement to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA until it came under the control of the ruling party.*

Zagreb, 1 June—The long proclaimed newspaper FERAL TRIBJUN, whose authors are the same team of journalists who organized the popular supplement of the same name to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA until that daily paper came under the control of the state, or the ruling party, appeared today at kiosks in Croatia. This satirical-political newspaper (the first part is similar in concept to its preceding FERAL, and the second part features current political themes and interviews) will come out twice monthly, and its publisher is the private enterprise "Mar-Konsalt," whose director is Martin Maraca, the dismissed director of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

In its well-known sparkling style, the first issue of the newspaper FERAL TRIBJUN discloses that "Ante Pavelic has been discovered alive," congratulates all its readers on the 71st birthday of the president of the Republic, with a special gift supplement, i.e., the social-political game "Baton of Youth," and there is FERAL's well-known aphorism with which they advertised its appearance: "Lucky Serbs—it's like that for them because of the sanctions."

In the second part one's attention is attracted by an article by Jelena Lovric, "Will the Great Croats Succeed in Creating a Small Croatia: Herzegovinians Against Croats?", an article by Sanja Modric on Croatian deserters, an interview with the "temporarily disappeared Croatian writer" Slobodan Snajder, and so forth.

Federal

Prime Minister Kontic Meets With General Cot

LD0707111793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—Radoje Kontic, Yugoslav prime minister and chairman of the Committee for Cooperation With UNPROFOR, received the newly appointed UNPROFOR commander, French General Jean Cot, and his associates this morning, the Federal Ministry of Information announced. The meeting was also attended by Cedric Thornberry, deputy head of the UNPROFOR mission, and Lieutenant Colonel General Jevrem Cokic, a member of the committee.

During the talks both sides expressed the view that peacekeeping on the territory of former Yugoslavia is UNPROFOR's prime task. Prime Minister Kontic said that UNPROFOR has made its contribution to the preservation of peace, prevented enormous destruction and casualties, and that their presence is necessary until a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis is reached.

It was said that the strengthening of trust between all warring sides and the UNPROFOR is an important condition for a successful resolution of problems and that stable and permanent peace cannot be achieved through the use of force and with threats. They also discussed some current issues of cooperation between the FRY and the UNPROFOR.

They also agreed to hold such meetings more often in order to strengthen trust between the FRY and UNPROFOR and to resolve open problems more effectively.

Serbia

Vuk Draskovic's Health Reportedly Deteriorating

LD0707104093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0934 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—Due to the protracted hunger strike, Vuk Draskovic's health condition is further deteriorating, a doctors' consultation announced today. Within the scope of its abilities the consultation has continuously been monitoring his health condition and has been taking measures to prevent critical complications which can become manifest in the next 24 hours. Danica Draskovic's health condition remained unchanged, the consultation said.

'Brightest Spark' in Opposition

AU0707084293 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3-4 Jul 93 p 18

[S.Z. report: "Ljajic: Will This Wake Up the Opposition?"]

[Text] "Vuk Draskovic is doubtless the brightest spark in today's Serbian opposition, if there is such a thing as opposition," Kasim Ljajic, secretary general of the Party of Democratic Action for Sandzak, said for BORBA.

"Draskovic and his letter should be seen in the context of his noble attempt to save what can be saved," Ljajic said. I would like to believe, he continued, that all this will reincarnate the opposition, that it will find the strength to organize itself again.

Brother Writes to Milosevic

93BA1170B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Jun 93 p 4

[Open letter from Rodoljub Draskovic, engineer, written in Vrsac, 18 June, to the president of Serbia: "'Everything Has Died Except Your Police and Propaganda'"]

[Text] To the president of the Republic of Serbia,

I tried to meet you in person and to present my opinion on the causes and consequences of the evil into which this country has fallen, about a series of crimes committed against this people, and about the crime committed against my brother, Vuk Draskovic.

In spite of my sincere hopes that the meeting would nevertheless come about, I did not manage to reach even the head of your office on the telephone. Those are the reasons that compelled me to address you publicly, although this is nothing new, because your predecessor, and also you, his successor, usually address the nation in open letters, official press releases, and public speeches, so why would not I, citizen of this sovereign country of yours, address you in the same way?

I put the question both to myself and you and to the citizens of this country: Is this a rule of law or a rule of force?

Unfortunately, the facts indicate that it is a question of the latter, that is, of a rule of force.

This is the second arrest and threat to the health and life of my brother, Vuk Draskovic! Criminal proceedings have been instituted against him, although it might be said that they should have been instituted against the cynical, immoral, and legal arbitrariness of your regime, because the indictment has been lodged against Vuk Draskovic on the basis of an article of the former SFRY of which you were one of the chief wreckers. In view of the crime committed, has a court of justice filed an indictment against you for destroying a sovereign country? The demonstrations, the rallies, the protests did not bother anyone at a time when you enthroned yourself on the "perpetual seat" or "perpetual throne." Police bans were not issued at that time against mass rallies, no one took you into custody, they did not institute criminal proceedings because the Vojvodina Assembly, the building of the Executive Council and of the provincial committee of that time were demolished

and you were behind it. Was that not an act of vandalism? Why is it that the police did not act to protect the property of this country at that time? Not only was a system of government destroyed at that time, but our homeland, in which we lived for more than 70 years, was also destroyed at that time. You were neither apprehended nor tried for all that you did. Likewise, the countless rallies which were organized according to your plan, but at government expense, so that even the appeals from those rallies made by your top party comrades to go to Terazije and beat up this country's young people were not recorded either as a misdemeanor or as a felony. You must understand, Mr. President, that crimes of that kind are not subject to any statute of limitations.

We Will Not Allow the Terror of Your Majority

Mr. President, the Serbian Democratic Opposition and Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] have had countless rallies and demonstrations, some lasting several days, but in the absence of your planning not a single drop of blood was shed, not a single window was broken, nor was any flower in the park trampled. This suggests the observation that the perpetrators of evil are attributing the evil committed to the other side in order to manipulate the masses of simple people. Now all that is left for you, Mr. President, is to settle accounts with Serbia, that is, with the more than six million citizens of this country who do not accept your policy and do not share your opinion.

It is true that there are more than six million of us, but we are nevertheless in the minority compared to those who think like you and support you. I am certain, in spite of that fact, that we will not allow terror either by you or your majority. I am not certain, Mr. President, that you are familiar with the analysis of those who think like you politically and your supporters, that you know what percentage of youth, of intelligentsia, that you know what percentage of the most creative and able part of the nation is with you. There are fewer and fewer people who think like you and support you every day, and more and more on our side. Every day, your supporters are dying a natural death, but our young people are being born every day.

It was clear after the first democratic election where you were leading us and what we would go through. From the moment you shouted the slogan "Long Live Yugoslavia" at the first promotional rally in Nis in '90, it was well-known that you would try to wreck it with all your strength. At your next promotional rally (quite accidentally in Nis once again in '92) you shouted the slogan: "Serbia Will Not Bow Down!" It was well-known that you would accept all ultimatums and all blackmail served up by the world community. It was well-known that we would experience a military, political, economic, cultural, and spiritual collapse.

Mr. President, I am a businessman, not a politician, so if I have erred anywhere, point out to me my error with the facts, not with an arrest and beatings, and I will make the correction of my political outlook. It is an obligation that goes with my job that at least once a year I go before my workers and submit a report on the enterprise's performance. I believe, Mr. President, that at least once a year you ought to address the nation and prove to them with the force of the facts: how much the per capita national income has grown, how much unemployment has dropped, how the funds of the loan for Serbia were used, what investments have been made in the economy, and what effect they have had on the growth of the national income.

Why Are You Not Arresting the Criminals and Thieves

Surely, Mr. President, it is not that you are ashamed to face the nation and communicate your deeds and the prosperity which you have secured for the people? I want a president who will be master in his house, who will pacify the members of his family and will be concerned about them. Unfortunately, in your Serbia, under your leadership, everything has died. There is no progress in any field or any activity except the activity of the police and your political propaganda which you are conducting, physical and moral violence against the entire population of this country. The population has been plundered, first through the government banks, and then through the private banks created under the patronage of your regime. The state has been plundered through abuse of the process of transformation of social capital, and you are both the mastermind and accomplice in that crime. Why did you not issue an order to institute criminal proceedings against the government bank that robbed the people and then also against the owners of the private bank and present to the public the names of all the participants in that robbery of this impoverished people? What kind of protection can the citizens of Serbia expect in a state of this kind? Where is their security and where is their future, when under the patronage of the president of the republic a serious political opponent is arrested and dealt with in most cruel fashion, according to the most primitive and savage methods, in an attack on his life and human dignity?

You Cannot Arrest Us All

I am not surprised at your failure to honor the request of Mr. Mitsotakis, Mr. Mitterrand, Mr. Weicker, the State Department, who have issued a request for the release of Vuk Draskovic and his wife from prison. I am not surprised, because you have decided to make Serbia a planet, and I would call it a desert island after the example of Goli Otok which was created by your predecessor. It is of no interest to you, Mr. President, that you have tightened the noose of the sanctions around the neck of the entire nation with your arrest of Vuk and terror against him and his wife.

Your objective is completely clear to me. You have decided to reestablish in Serbia the most reactionary absolutist regime at this moment of human history.

Do you know, Mr. President, how much youth and intelligence have fled from this country, from you and your regime? Do you know how many dead, mutilated, helpless, and homeless, how many hungry there are in your state today? How much property damage, how much damage to the nationality, and how many decades this nation has to work just to reach the level which you inherited, Mr. President, when you took the throne after the first "democratic" election in Serbia?

I believe, Mr. President, that you will nevertheless one day be forced before the court of the public and before a court of justice to divulge all your crimes, the disastrous consequences that are destroying the entire national being.

I would be happy if you prove with arguments that you are not principally responsible for all the evils that have befallen us. I will be happy if you do not go through what Vuk Draskovic, not to mention Nikolae Ceausescu, has gone through.

Because of my opinion, Mr. President, which I have expressed in this open letter, by the standards of your law-governed state, you can arrest me, you can beat me in prison as you have done my brother, but I am certain that you will not succeed in arresting all those who think as I do and put them in prison. To be sure, one never knows, because you have managed to turn a free country into the greatest prison the world has ever experienced, and almost all countries of the world have merely confirmed the penalty.

In Vrsac, 18 June 1993

Kosovo

Democratic Alliance Says Serbian Terror Intensifying

LD0607141293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Jul 93

[Text] Following a decision by the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to deny hospitality to a CSCE mission that was monitoring the observance of human rights in Kosovo, a wave of terror in the province of Kosovo began to intensify, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Presidency says in a statement issued today.

This morning the Serbian police raided the seat of the Kosovo Union of Independent Trade Unions, confiscated all documentation, and arrested two trade union activists. The Serbian police also brutally beat up Numan Balic, chairman of the Party of Democratic Action for Kosovo, and detained him in a police station for more than 15 hours. Terror against leaders of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo in Lipljan continues, while the police have also begun raiding Albanian homes.

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Presidency, nevertheless, expresses its conviction that the international community can find a solution in order to continue monitoring the situation in Kosovo that is described as extremely serious.

Ethnic Albanians Refute Serbian Claim to Kosovo

93BA1127B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 93 p 11

[Article by Dr. Serif Maljoku, assistant professor at the Department of Natural Science and Mathematics in Pristina, translated from Albanian to Serbo-Croatian by Bahri Cani; Albanian personal names rendered in Serbo-Croatian transliteration: "Decomposition of Kosovo—Unacceptable Option"]

[Text] The explanation of Dr. Milovan Radovanovic's option for differentiated autonomy in the article "New Geography for New Conditions" (BORBA, 14 May 1993) serves as a mask for disgraceful aspirations to create a Greater Serbia. Ideas such as these destroy the national, geographic, economic, and natural compactness of Kosovo. They weaken its specific geopolitical and geostrategic position in the Balkans.

Their ultimate aim is actually to wipe out Kosovo and the right of Albanians to make decisions about their own territory, and to create "Nove Toplice." Thus, these options are a continuation of old and strategic Serb tendencies and conceptions, only disguised as a new idea—the "liberation" of Kosovo from the Albanians.

The present-day division of Albanians of the same roots, blood, and language into six state entities is unacceptable, just as any option that does not include the separation of Kosovo from Serbia is unacceptable.

The new geography needs new relations as well—the pulling down of walls and of imposed, unnatural entities. The assertion that Kosovo is "Serb land" is the fruit of medieval logic, while the "territorial concessions" option resembles the idea that "what is mine, is mine" and "what is yours, is mine."

Mr. Radovanovic, Albanians in Kosovo and in the former Yugoslavia in general are nationally and territorially integral, they comprise a strongly pronounced ethnic group, in terms of demographics they are quite stable, they have their own entity, homogeneity, territory, and identity as the indigenous and oldest nation in the Balkans, and they are the natural heirs to the ethnic situation in ancient southeastern Europe.

Serbs in Kosovo—Always in the Minority

The territories of Sandzak Nis and Pirot Kosovo were more extensive than present-day Kosovo at two points in history. Only 24 percent of the population of those regions was Serb-dominant, while around 74 percent was Albanian population, from which more than 20,000 square km of living space was taken away by force. Of the 620 locations from which they were expelled, 450 were ethnically pure Albanian. For this reason, Mr.

Radovanovic, I cannot agree with your options. Not only because I was born here and want to die here, and I will not turn my back even if (God forbid) events assume a dramatic and tragic turn, but also because of the scientific truth.

The fact that geographically Kosovo encompassed the entire territory of ancient Dardania and that the later named Albania encompassed all the territory inhabited by Albanians is confirmed by the map by Mauro, "ILI MAPA-MONTO" (1445-48). E. Celebija also called Kosovo Albania in 1662. The fact that Kosovo is an inseparable part of Albania is also confirmed by European maps from that age. In 1688 the source of the Drina River was a constituent part of Albania—this is proven by a large number of scientific data and geographic maps, which the Serbs began to falsify in 1844, whereby the words "Old Serbia" were placed over the word Kosovo.

According to many scientific indicators, Albanians comprised a majority of the population in the Balkan Peninsula, while according to Cvijic Serbs have always been a minority in Kosovo, in 1910 only 5 percent of the total population of Kosovo (see J. Cvijic, "Balkansko poluostrvo" [The Balkan Peninsula], 1966).

In 1878 and 1913, the great powers, in order to satisfy the appetites of neighboring states, committed the greatest historical injustice against the Albanians, to the benefit of Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece. While the Albanians' geographic region was reduced to 35,170 square km, Serbian territory doubled at our expense. Instead of the 48,302 square km that it had in 1910, Serbia grew to 87,303 square km, only to achieve 95,667 in 1913.

This seems too small to you, Mr. Radovanovic, and certainly you want to expand even further. You want to reduce Kosovo to 6,650 square km, and even to take territory where the Albanian population makes up as much as 99 percent!

The national criterion for administratively dividing territory for Albanians in postwar Yugoslavia was not a real solution either. Albanian territory was divided among three republics of the former Yugoslavia—Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia—in order to shatter the national and territorial unity of the Albanians and promote the de-Albanianization of this region.

Option with No Future

In the geographic, ethnic, and historic sense, ethnic regions have been separated from their trunk and annexed by Serbia. Today, you present Kosovo as your territory without any geographic or ethnic criteria. This is not new geography for new conditions, but rather the old, outdated school of an extreme option that has no future, but is instead regressive.

Mr. Radovanovic's option on decomposing the integral geographic territory of Kosovo into tiny entities has no basis in science whatsoever. For this reason too, it is unacceptable. The ultimate aim of your option is to definitively erase Kosovo from the map and to deprive Albanians of the right to territorial integrity. In this way, "Nove Toplice" would be created, Albanians would be expelled from the hearths of their ancestors, first temporarily and then forever, and the goal would be achieved—a Kosovo without Albanians, and the complete Slavicization of this region.

In essence, this means that anti-Albanian circles have not renounced the old strategy, while added a new one to it—the taking of Albanian territory and its colonization and neo-colonization. And you, Mr. Radovanovic, are well-aware of how much Albanian sweat and blood has been shed for this region, even though many occupying forces have marched through. Albanians in areas separated from their motherland have suffered the worst political and demographic things at the hands of the Greater Serbs. The Serbization of Kosovo began in 1912, and this attempt to denationalize our essential being must be treated as worse than any cholera.

These options are reminiscent of the anti-Albanian policy pursued at the Congress of Berlin (at that time, around 350,000 Albanians were expelled in only two or three days) in 1878, the London Conference in 1913, Versailles in 1919 and 1920, the period between the two world wars, and Cubrilovic's fascist and genocidal development plan in 1937, Andric in 1939, and the anti-Albanian neocommunist and Serbo-Bolshevik movement that floated to the surface in 1981.

Theories that sow hatred toward one nation—the Albanians—are hopeless and meaningless. Incorrect terms such as "Oblast of Kosovo-Metohija," "Kosmet," etc. are quite normal in your opinion, despite the fact that they have no social or geographic meaning.

The compactness of the Albanian ethnic group and of its territory is even evidenced by several published Serbian documents. For example, "Prilozi proucavanja narodne poezije" [Contributions to Research on National Poetry] (1932), which states that until 1500 there was not a single trace of Serbs in Kosovo. These sources cannot be unknown to you, Mr. Radovanovic. Perhaps you do not know them, or perhaps you are compelled to act as if you do not. This should nevertheless remain a matter for your conscience and scholarly commitment.

Albanians Are Not Newcomers

The depiction of Kosovo as a Serb myth, ideology, religion, philosophy, and national ideal is a Serb fabrication, especially if one knows (and you do) that on ancient maps Serbs do not even appear in this region. Not until the 15th century, as the maps confirm. Serbs were spread out between the big Morava River, the Timok River, and the Danube. Kosovo vilayet, however, extended as far as Nis and Pirot.

Thus, the Albanians are not newcomers, Mr. Radovanovic. Their heart, soul, and cradle is right here, in this

region, but also over a much wider area. A monograph on Kosovo ("Kosovo nekad i danas" [Kosovo Then and Now], 1978) refutes the assertion of many Serb geographers, historians, and ethnographers that there were no Albanians in this region until it was settled by Serbs. Even Cubrilovic himself admits (see "Politicki uzroci borbe na Balkanu 1860-80" [Political Causes of Conflict in the Balkans 1860-80], Serbian Geographical Society, Belgrade, 1930) that the integral territory of the Albanians included Sjenica, Novi Pazar as far as Prokuplje, and on into the interior of Serbia, all the way to Kursumlija, Leskovac, Pirot, and Nis.

The colonization and occupation of Kosovo cannot be accepted. Your conscience, as an intellectual with a family tradition, has miraculously been rendered complacent in the face of the force, repression, and genocide that Serbia has committed against Albanians. At the time you were deaf and blind, and to this very day Albanians are being forced by Serbia to abandon their hearths and leave (more than 300,000 of them), just like in the 1950's when they were displaced by the tens of thousands to Turkey and other states.

The new political maps that are springing up in the territory of the former Yugoslavia that do not recognize the republic of Kosovo and a resolution to the status of Albanians in Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as in eastern Kosovo, are unacceptable and impossible. You propose options whereby Serbia would take away from Kosovo the regions that are richest in natural and economic resources, in order to neutralize the idea of a separate and independent Kosovo, even though such independence is in the interest not only of the Albanians, but also of everyone living here. The extent to which Kosovo has been exploited is best indicated by figures (1945-84): One hundred percent of the Serbian and Yugoslav demand for burnt magnesite was met through resources here; refined lead—Serbia 100 percent, and Yugoslavia 80 percent; unrefined lead—Serbia 100 percent, and Yugoslavia 60 percent.... Thus, it is best that we separate forever and remain good neighbors, and that Serbia regard Kosovo from afar without touching and exploiting it.

The idea of the republic of Kosovo cannot be averted through hatred, nor can its sovereignty be averted by the police and military. Ancient roots, historic proof, and naturally the present time will lead Kosovo into Europe.

Finally, it is our geographic, historical, ethnic, political, and economic right to make decisions about ourselves, about the integrity of our territory, to be the king of our castle.

Rugova Condemns Greek Policy Toward Albanians

AU0207160493 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 2 Jul 93

[Sherif Kunicka telephone report from Pristina]

[Text] In a regular news conference, president of the republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova focused on the anniversary of the constitutional declaration of 2 July 1990 and the deterioration in Albanian-Greek relations. July 2 is a remarkable day for Kosovo, Rugova said. On this day three years ago, the delegates of the Kosovo assembly announced the constitutional declaration for Kosovo's independence. At this period, Kosovo managed to assert itself on the international scene, while the demand of Kosovars for independence was affirmed. The world supported our peaceful resistance in implementing this demand. The violence and police and military repression against the Albanian people and even the brutal violence of those days against Albanian education in Kosovo failed to hinder this act.

Speaking about the situation between Greece and Albania, Dr. Rugova stressed that Greece, in violation of international norms, is expelling Albanian workers and emigrants, and thus aggravating relations with Albania. Greece's stance towards the south of Albania and the Albanian Autocephalus Church is already known. Greece is deliberately playing games with the numbers of Greeks in Albania, describing as Greeks Albanians of the Eastern Orthodox religion. It should be Albanians themselves who run the Albanian Church. We hope that the Greek authorities will stop its pressure against the Albanians, because if we search for members of [word indistinct] in the Balkans, Greece would have problems with native Albanians who live in [word indistinct].

Concerning Russia, Chairman Rugova said that he hoped Russia would be engaged in the Balkan integrations and help in solving the problem of former Yugoslavia. He said that we have presented the problem of Kosovo to Russia and hope that it will no longer play with spheres of interest but will work on the integrating processes in the Balkans and Europe.

We have been discussing the killing of the Albanian officer by Macedonian soldiers. Despite Greece's aims to marginalize the problem of Kosovo, we hope we will not have to deal with a joint Greek-Macedonian scenario, Rugova said in answer to a reporter's question.

At this news conference, Dr. Fehmi Agani informed reporters about the Serbian mass media's misinterpretations of the last news conference. It is not true that the Kosovo Democratic Alliance accepts the division of the territory of Kosovo on an ethnic basis. He said that we have asserted that by the affirmation of the ethnic principle in Europe, Kosovo will be the one to be more (?affected) by it.

LDK Condemns Expulsion of Albanians From Greece

AU0307160793 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 1 Jul 93

[Statement by the Presidency of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) issued in Pristina on 1 July]

[Text] The news on the unusual and extremely excessive deportation of Albanian workers from Greece, and accordingly on the worsening of the Greek-Albanian relations are alarming.

Unreasonable deportation of Albanian workers by the Greek authorities presents not only violation of European norms and human rights, but at the same time expresses an apparent volition of Greece for distraction of attention from the substantially grave situation in Serbia and Kosova, and for opening of a new front of disputes for the needs of the Serbian hegemony. At the same time, it expresses a strange wish of Greece to interfere with the interior affairs of Albania.

Greece—a Balkan country, which has been denying, not only the rights but even the existence of any other non-Greek population in its territory, becoming, thus, a country of a substantial xenophobia—in a wholly uncostly way entitles itself to determine the stand Albania should take regarding the rights of the Albanians in Kosova and former Yugoslavia, entirely appeasing the possibility of comparing it to the position of Albanians in Greece, considering it as un-existed issue, and genocidal deportation of tens of thousands of Chams, expropriating their properties.

Condemning, as utterly unacceptable, the unilateral involvement of Greece and its, more than moral support and solidarity with the Belgrade warmonger regime and its occupying appetite, that will result in grave consequences to any kind of possible peaceful developments in the Balkans, we express full solidarity with the efforts of Albania in defense of its sovereignty and dignity of the Albanian people.

Prishtina, 1 July 1993

[Signed] Presidency of the Democratic League of Kosova

Vojvodina

DNEVNIK Resumes Publication After Strike

LD0407172293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0818 GMT 4 Jul 93

[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—The Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK was published again today after a 43-day break due to a staff strike. The paper's new director is Milenko Sakotic and its editor in chief is Dragan Radevic.